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The establishments of chiefs as a rule boasted a considerable number of servants, usually kinsmen of inferior rank, who for the most part resided in houses within the chief's enclosure. 592 [622] [602]

The husband is considered the head of the immediate family, even though the wife be superior in rank. In Tonga, as elsewhere, disposition naturally plays a part in the relations of husband and wife. [565]

In many Tongan families, husband and wife are blood relatives, for cross-cousin marriage was practiced, especially among people of rank. The genealogy of the Ata Islanders (p. 281) shows 10 first-cousin marriages out of 26 marriages of relatives. This probably gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the prevalence of marriages of blood relatives in the rank and file of the Tongan population. Nevertheless, such marriages were no doubt common. 582

Fison's description of a nagging wife (24, p. 65) is not typical, for in general, domestic quarrels are rare. Mariner (40, vol. 2, pp. 92, 169) mentions the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: 593 592 565

> . . . . for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. . . . If a woman not a noble is the wife or daughter of a mataboole, she ranks as a mataboole; if she be a noble, she is superior in rank to him, and so are the children male and female; but in domestic matters she submits entirely to his arrangements; notwithstanding this, however, she never loses the respect from her husband due to her rank, that is to say, he is obliged to perform the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* before he can feed himself. If the husband and wife are both nobles of equal rank, the ceremony of *mo'ë-mo'ë* is dispensed with; but where there is any difference the inferior must perform this ceremony to be freed from the *tăboo*. If a woman marries a man higher in rank than herself, she always derives additional respect on that account; but a man having a wife who is a greater noble than himself acquires no additional respect from this source, but he has the advantage of her larger property.

A man might anciently divorce his wife by merely telling her to go. Young children of divorced parents go with the mother. 586

Married people of both sexes are referred to as *alafia* (untouchable), a word used particularly by young men in reference to young married women. 581 192

There were no family names in the sense of European patrilineal surnames. Such surnames have been introduced, however, at the Tongan government college, where young men are registered with their fathers' names as surnames. Tongan informants frequently give place names, but state, however, that such names changed with change of residence. Obviously, these are not family names in the true sense. 551 [178] [124]

With regard to the relations of old and young, Wilson (65, pp. 348, 385) compares the customs of Tongatabu with those of Tahiti: 888 175 171

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From early times it evidently had been the custom for the Tui Tonga to take as his principal wife the daughter of some powerful chief; thus the daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua were married by a few Tui Tonga. Then they drop from view and thereafter the Tui Tonga takes as his chief wife a daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu, apparently thereby acknowledging the superiority of the Tui Kanokupolu over the Tui Haa Takalaua.

THE MALE TUI TONGA

SEQUENCE OF THE TUI TONGA

With the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth Tui Tonga, December 9, 1865, the sway of the so-called "priest-kings" of Tonga came to an end. No successor to Laufilitonga was appointed, but the office was absorbed by the reigning Tui Kanokupolu, George I Tupou. The traditional founder of the dynasty was Ahoeitu, who probably came into power some time in the tenth century.

It should be borne in mind, however, that if tradition is to be relied upon the Ahoeitu dynasty of kings was preceded by an earlier dynasty (26, p. 38): "This world was first inhabited by the offspring of the worm, and Kohai was first made Tui Tonga of the world. And his people were dwelling there [in Tonga]."

Williamson (64, vol. 1, pp. 136-137, 139) interprets Bastian (4, p. 296) as indicating six kings preceding Ahoeitu, but if my interpretation of the Tongan is correct, Bastian lists but one, namely Kohai as may be seen from the following translation of the Tongan story referred to by Williamson.

> The first land of Tonga was Ata [island] and the first plant was a *fue* with two branches, and came down Tangaloa and tore it in two and the root of the *fue* rotted, and developed an animal, and came a plover and pecked, and arose from it a pair of men who were brothers, and a [the part] of the animal was cast off by the plover, and it became Momo, which are the three that arose from the animal, and the meaning of Momo is
>
> The crumbs [momo] of the animal
> And the first Tui Tonga was Kohai
> The man who originated from the *fue* plant.
>
> (See also Collocott, 8, p. 237.)

The list of Tui Tonga (dynasty of Ahoeitu), given below is regarded by me as correct. It is the result of the careful comparison of material from six sources: (a) A list obtained from Tongavalevale and recorded by Father Francis Xavier Reiter (33, vol. 5, pp. 45, 46), referred to as the Catholic Mission list; (b) A manuscript written by Anthony Uhatafe of Mua, Tongatabu, a member of a family which furnished ceremonial attendants to the Tui Tonga; (c) A list published by the late King George II (35, vol. 1, No. 1, [5], p. 8); (d) A list recorded by J. E. Moulton (34)

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CHARACTERIZATION OF THE TUI TONGA

The following information has been obtained regarding the Tui Tonga listed on page 50: 173 175 643

1. Ahoeitu, the legendary first Tui Tonga of the dynasty which ended on December 9, 1865, with the death of Laufilitonga, the thirty-ninth ruler of the line, was the reputed son of a Tongan woman and a sky-god, Tangaloa Eitumatupua. While visiting his celestial father, Ahoeitu was killed by his half brothers. After his resurrection he was sent by his father down to Tonga to become its ruler. With him came his brothers who occupied subordinate positions. "Ahoeitu returned to earth and became Tui Tonga, the first [divine] Tui Tonga of the world. The Tui Tonga who originated from the offspring of the worm were displaced." (26, pp. 25, 38.)

The non-supernatural features of this legend suggest the beginning of a new line of rulers from the union of a woman of the earlier Tongan population with an immigrant or newly risen chief. The approximate date is believed to be 950 A. D.

The five celestial paternal half brothers, who descended from the sky with Ahoeitu, served him as subordinates in certain capacities. Three of these five are said to have representatives to-day in Tonga, not necessarily lineal descendants, for the names are really titles of offices which may be filled from collateral lines of relatives. The five half brothers of Ahoeitu and their representatives were: Talafale (Tui Faleua), represented today by Tui Pelehake; Matakehe, with no known representative; Mallepo, represented by Lauaki; Tui Loloko, represented by Tui Loloko; Tui Folaha, with no known representative.

2-9. Lolofakangalo, Fangaoneone, Lihau, Kofutu, Kaloa, Mauhau, Apuanea, Afulunga. Of the seven Tui Tonga who succeeded Ahoeitu there are known only the names and the statement that son succeeded father, until Momo, the tenth ruler of the line.

10. Momo. If the account is to be trusted, Momo chose as his chief wife Nua, the daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea of central Tongatabu. This custom of selecting a daughter of a powerful chief of Tongatabu as wife and mother of the new king prevailed thenceforth throughout the whole history of the dynasty. Within the last four centuries the daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu was selected. The mythical origin of kava would seem to be connected with Momo's reign, inasmuch as it is the chief Loau of Haamea who plays a leading part in the tale (26, pp. 71-75). However, as there seems to have been more than one chief with the name of Loau this is not absolutely certain. [581] [581] [276]

Apparently the Loau of Momo's time bore the full name of Loau Tuputoka. A chief of that name visited Savaii Island, Samoa, in Momo's reign, at the time the carapace of the famous turtle, Sangone, was reputed to have been buried (26, pp. 49-54). To Loau Tongafisifonua of perhaps another reign is attributed the famous voyage to the horizon (26, pp. 139-152).

The reign of Momo must have been traditionally important for a proverbial expression (*kau 'o Momo*) refers to it. In his day, and in fact down through the time of Takalaua, the Tui Tonga was the temporal ruler (*kau*), as well as the sacred ruler.

It was apparently in Momo's reign or in that of his predecessor that the royal residence was moved from central or southeastern Tongatabu to Heketa, northeastern Tongatabu.

11. King Tuitatui, who reigned about 1200 A. D., left his mark in Tongan legendary history. Even an alleged peculiarity of head form is recorded, and what was believed to be his skull was unearthed in Heketa, Tongatabu, some years ago. He is the reputed builder of the Trilithon. During his reign, the capital was at Heketa, near the famous structure (26, pp. 48-49). There Tuitatui erected the two royal tombs, Langi Heketa and Langi Moungalafa, presumably for his father and himself. [349]

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as the forty-first, and the present ruler Queen Charlotte as the forty-second. Although these three rulers are from a collateral line, the genealogies show that their blood is that of the Tui Tonga and Tamaha. The three great offices of Tui Tonga, Tui Haa Takalaua, and Tui Kanokupolu are now combined in a single individual. Actually the Tui Kanokupolu has absorbed the other two. By the combination of rank, military and political power, and general ability, a line of chiefs third in power has risen to be first.

The accession of King George I Tupou, the nineteenth Tui Kanokupolu, to the high office of fortieth Tui Tonga is quaintly set forth in the following account written on November 2, 1896, by Elia Malupo, a ceremonial attendant to the Tui Tonga. Malupo states that although Laufilitonga ordered that Fatafehi (the Tui Pelehake) should be the next Tui Tonga, it seems that Fatafehi was never formally confirmed in office, so that actually the next holder of the office was George I Tupou, the Tui Kanokupolu, who was formally ordained Tui Tonga by the assembly of the chiefs of the kingdom.

Pea toki folofola a Laufilitonga ke na hoko mo Fatafehi, ke ave ae naunau toputapu kotoape oe Tui Tonga, ke ai, ia Fatafehi (Tui Pelehake). Pea hili ia, oku foaki ae kava e Fatafehi kia Tupou Maeakafa uluaki; ko hono tupuanga ia oe fai oe kava, ki he Tui Kanokupolu. Pea toki fakamooni ki ai ae houeiki, i he fakataha lahi, nae fai i Vavau, ke fakaafio a Tupou uluaki, koe Tui Tonga, ke ai ae naunau oe Tui Tonga kia te ia: ae Liutaunga, moe Taumafa; moe Haele, moe Ei, he koe fakailonga ia oe eiki muomua, oe fonua, ae naunau fakatuitonga, pea kuo fai ia kia Tupou uluaki, ae naunau toputapu koia, kae koe fakasiisii Eiki, ae tae fai oe naunau koia kia Tupou. Oku tokolahi ae houeiki, moe kau matapule, oku nau tae lava ae naunau koia; koe faahinga ia oku nau hange koe fakasiisii oe muomua oe fonua, koe tae fakaapaapa akinautolu, ka koe fofonga valeape ae kau polisi.

Then Laufilitonga said for Fatafehi to come after him, and for him to have all the sacred ceremonies of the Tui Tonga, to Fatafehi (Tui Pelehake). And after Fatafehi they were handed over to Tupou Maeakafa I, and that originated the making of the kava (by the Tui Tonga's ceremony), to the Tui Kanokupolu. Then the chiefs affirmed it at the big meeting that was held at Vavau, to make royal Tupou I who was to be called Tui Tonga, and for him to receive the sacred ceremonies of the Tui Tonga: the Liutaunga, and Taumafa, (the food of the chief); and the use of the words Haele (to go), and Ei, which show the high rank of the chief who is first in the land, the honors of the Tui Tonga and they are given to Tupou I those sacred honors, and it is lessening the Chief's rank to omit to give these honors to Tupou. There are many chiefs, and matapule, who are not able to give (or remember the order of) these honors; those are they who lower the rank of him who comes first in the land, it is wanting in respect of them, and the police are the most ignorant.

THE GREAT ROYAL WIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The great royal wife of each Tui Tonga, who was the mother of the succeeding Tui Tonga, was called the *moheofo*. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Tui Tonga habitually sought alliances by marriage with the

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most powerful chiefs in his domain. Marriages with daughters of Samoan chiefs were popular, too, and Krämer gives many examples. The daughters of great chiefs who became great royal wives can hardly be designated as queens in the European sense. The real queen in Tonga was the sister of the Tui Tonga, the Female Tui Tonga.

As to the exact etymology of the term *moheofo* I am uncertain: *mohe* means "sleep, cohabit"; *ofo* means "surprise, marvel, wonder," also "to revive afresh, as any herb that appeared dead." Collocott obtained two meanings for *moheofo*: "to sit and give luck to a fishing expedition," "to take girls to a great chief." He speaks of Ngata, the first Tui Kanokupolu, as having been sent to *moheofo* from the Hihifo District, Tongatabu.

The following are the great royal wives and mothers of succeeding Tui Tonga:

TUI TONGA	ROYAL WIFE	HER SON THE TUI TONGA
10. Momo	Nua, daughter of Loau, the Tui Haamea	11. Tuitatui
23. Takalaua	Vaelaveamata, of Ata Island	24. Kauulufonua I
24. Kauulufonua I	Taufaitoa, a Samoan	26. Puipuifatu
24. Kauulufonua I	Vainuulasi, a Samoan	27. Kauulufonua II
28. Tapuosi	Vaenopo, daughter of Ahomee's younger brother Lavakavaoleleva. Bastian [4, p. 297] says Vaenopo was the daughter of Ahomee.) The Tamaha's genealogy says Vaetapu, the daughter of Ahomee.	29. Uluakimata I
29. Uluakimata I	Mataukipa, daughter of Kauulufonuahuo	30. Fatafehi
30. Fatafehi	Kaloafutonga, daughter of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua Moungatonga and sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu Ngata	31. Kauulufonua III
31. Kauulufonua III	Takala, daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua Fotofili	32. Uluakimata II
32. Uluakimata II	Toa, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea	33. Tui Pulotu I
33. Tui Pulotu I	Manuna, daughter of Kava Moungaone, chief of Moungaone Island.	34. Fakanaanaa
34. Fakanaanaa	Tongotea, daughter of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea	35. Tui Pulotu II
35. Tui Pulotu II	Laumanukilupe, daughter of Tupoutoa (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu Mataelehaamea)	36. Pau
35. Tui Pulotu II	Anaukihesina, daughter of the sixth Tui Kanokupolu Maafuotuitonga	37. Maulupekotofa
36. Pau	Tupoumoheofo, daughter of the seventh Tui Kanokupolu Tupoulahi, and herself twelfth Tui Kanokupolu.	38. Fuanunuiava
38. Fuanunuiava	Tupouveiongo, daughter of the twelfth Tui Kanokupolu Mumui	39. Laufilitonga
39. Laufilitonga	Halaevalumataaho, daughter of the seventeenth Tui Kanokupolu Tupoutoa	

The mother of No. 29 was the daughter of a man who was, so far as known, of no importance in Tongan affairs—the younger brother of the chief Ahomee. Similarly traditional history gives us no indication of the position of the mother's father of king

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30. With king 30 began a series of marriages with the daughters of the great houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu. King 30 married the daughter of the sixth Tui Haa Takalaua (she was also the sister of the first Tui Kanokupolu); king 31 married the daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua; king 32 the daughter of the eighth. King 33 neglected both the daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua and of the Tui Kanokupolu and married the daughter of the chief of Moungaone Island, Haapai. Kings 34 to 36, 38, and 39 each married a daughter of a Tui Kanokupolu. In addition king 35 married a granddaughter of one; she was the mother of Pau, the Tui Tonga of Cook's time.

It would appear that the importance of the Tui Haa Takalaua decreased so after the eighth one that their daughters were no longer sought as great royal wives by the Tui Tonga. Additional marriages to daughters of the Tui Kanokupolu who did not become great royal wives are: Fakanaanaa to Tuutongahunuhunu (daughter of Atamataila), Tui Pulotu II to Tui Lokamana (daughter of Vuna), Pau to Kongakava (daughter of Maealiuaki), Fuanunuiava to Tupoufalemei (daughter of Tui Halafatai), and Fuanunuiava to Palulongoteme (daughter of Mulikihaamea).

The harem of the Tui Tonga was extensive, for usually each regularly espoused wife of high rank brought supplementary wives (*fokonofo*) or concubines to her husband. Often a younger sister or other relative was a *fokonofo*.

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE TUI TONGA

The successor to the Tui Tonga was his son born of the great royal wife, a woman who had been properly espoused to him, and who was usually the daughter of a great chief, but not necessarily of the Tui Haa Takalaua or of the Tui Kanokupolu. Should there be more than one wife whose children were eligible, the succession went to the first born son, and after him to his younger half brother, not to his son. The succession of Kauulufonua II after Puipuifatu and of Maulupekotofa after Pau are examples of this fraternal succession.

Although the blood of the heir-apparent preordained him as the future ruler of the country, he did not automatically become king upon the death of his father. The actual installation in office seems to take place upon the calling of the new title by the person officiating as announcer at the kava-drinking ceremony, a method of installation followed for all title holders in Tonga. Laufilitonga, although the legitimate heir, did not succeed to office as thirty-ninth Tui Tonga for seventeen years after the death of his father, and came to the throne only through installation at the proper assemblage of high chiefs. However, Samoan tradition says that Kauulufonua I named his son, Puipuifatu, as his successor (36, vol. 1, p. 304). Actually, though, another king, Vakafuhu intervened.

The Tui Haa Takalaua seems to have been the chief who anciently convened the assemblage for the appointment of the Tui Tonga, calling together

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stepped pyramids. Their exact details are accurately described by McKern (42). I give here a list of rulers and their traditional burial places, so far as known. It is Tongan custom to designate dead rulers by their tombs; thus, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuofefafa is Tui Pulotu I, Tui Pulotu i Langi Tuoteau is Tui Pulotu II.

13. Tui Tonga Nui Tamatou, Langi Tamatou, between Makaunga and Hoi, Tongatabu Island.
29. Uluakimata I (Telea), Paepae o Telea, at Lapaha, Tongatabu Island.
32. Uluakimata II, Langi Tui Tonga at Lapaha.
33. Tui Pulotu I, Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha.
35. Tui Pulotu II, Langi Tuoteau, at Lapaha.
36. Pau died in Vavau (50, p. 232).
39. Laufilitonga, Langi Foou, a concrete structure on top of the Langi Tuofefafa, at Lapaha.

According to a published Tongan account (33, vol. 7, pp. 81-83, 1909) the earliest royal tombs are those in central and southeastern Tongatabu. In the reign of Momo, or of his son Tuitatui, the capital was shifted to Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu and there two royal tombs were erected. Tuitatui's sons moved the capital to Lapaha, where most of the subsequent tombs were erected.

Certain of the larger stones in some of the royal tombs bear special names. Two stones in the Langi Tui Tonga, Lapaha, Tongatabu, are named for chiefs: Tuituiohu (son of the fourth Tui Kanokupolu) and Vaea (the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua). These named stones further indicate that the Tui Tonga buried in this royal tomb was Uluakimata II. The significance of the stones was not ascertained.

The children of kings who themselves never became rulers were at times placed in tombs which bore distinctive names. Probably this practice of special burial for such individuals was far commoner than the present-day evidence indicates. Examples of such burial are:

1. The son of a Tui Tonga by an Uvean woman is said to be the individual for whom the Langi Maluatonga, at Lapaha, was built. On account of the Uvean blood of the king's son, his tomb is not tapu and is regarded with scant respect. This is why even a commoner will say, "When I am hungry, I eat on Langi Maluatonga."

2. A mound in Nomuka village, Nomuka Island, Haapai, is said to be the tomb of a Tui Tonga's daughter named Ate. (Ate is also the name of the present Tui Haa Ngana's daughter.) The Tui Tonga in question having no wife, sent word that he wanted a woman from Haafeva, named Halakiumata, the daughter of Fauolo of Haafeva. Fauolo sent his daughter and she was married to the Tui Tonga and bore him a daughter named Ate. Ate was sent to Nomuka to look after the Tui Tonga's graveyard. She died at Ahau in Nomuka and was buried in the mound in the present town. The royal tomb she cared for was situated in the district now called Pangai[4] on the far side of the lake (from the present town) and was called Langiatea.

3. Talahiva, the daughter of a Tui Tonga, is buried in the cemetery Tafengatoto, near Neiafutahi (part of the town of Neiafu), Vavau Island.

[4] See page 72 for a different version, in which Ate is the wife.

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When a Tamaha was to be appointed, the Tui Kanokupolu came and prepared an oven of food and himself carried it to the Tui Haa Takalaua. Together they carried the food to the Tui Tonga, probably in the fictitious fashion described by Collocott (15, p. 43). The three chiefs then went to the prospective Tamaha. Meanwhile all of the chiefs of the kingdom had assembled at the call of the Tui Haa Takalaua. The agreement was reached beforehand between the Tui Tonga and the Tui Haa Takalaua as to who was to be the new Tamaha, although birth had largely preordained this. As with every other bestowal of title in Tonga, the calling of the Tamaha's new title in the kava circle constituted inauguration in office. Informants were of the opinion that the Tamaha was appointed at maturity.

The derivation of the word *tamaha* was given by one informant as *tama* (child), *ha* (to appear); by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (above, in the sense of rank), by another as *tama* (child), *ha* (sacred, cf. Samoan *sa*). The Tamaha was not regarded as the incarnation of a divinity.

In travelling, the Tamaha was usually carried in a palanquin; sometimes she walked. When she passed, people seated themselves with folded hands and bowed head. Her uncle, the male Tui Tonga, brought his offerings and sat down before her with all humility. Sick people came to her for cure (23, p. 145).

One of the chief residences of the Tamaha was the island of Tungua, Haapai. It is one of the seats of the Tui Haa Teiho. When boats passed in front of the Tamaha's house which was near the beach, the paddlers got overboard and swam with the boat until beyond the dwelling. This custom is analogous to the modern one of dismounting from a horse when passing the Queen's residence.

A series of special words used for the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, and the male Tui Tonga are on page 119.

THE TUI HAA TAKALAUA

The great chiefly houses of the Tui Haa Takalaua and the Tui Kanokupolu are nothing more than collateral branches of the dynasty of Tui Tonga which began with Ahoeitu. The first Tui Haa Takalaua was a younger brother of a Tui Tonga and the first Tui Kanokupolu was a younger brother of a Tui Haa Takalaua. Hence the stress which so many writers lay upon the spiritual and the temporal lines of rulers in Tonga should be understood to refer to difference of function and degree of chiefliness and sanctity only, not difference of origin, for both lines claim the same semi-divine ancestor, Ahoeitu. Besides this community of origin, the three great chiefly houses of Tonga were thoroughly linked by marriage.

The office of Tui Haa Takalaua is reputed to have been founded by the

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Kauulufonuafekai, the last Tui Tonga to rule temporarily, was so disheartened by the assassination of his father, Takalaua, that, on his return from pursuing the assassins, Tamosia and Malofafa (two men smelling of the sorcery basket), to Uvea, he resigned his temporal power to his younger brother Moungamotua, who, under the title of Tui Haa Takalaua (Haa Takalaua, a district of Tongatabu), assumed the actual rule as reigning prince (*hau*) on condition that he and his heirs engage to maintain and defend forever the Tui Tonga in his sacred state of high priest; also that the Tui Tonga in office was always to have as his wife the daughter of the reigning prince.

As a matter of fact the first recorded marriage of a Tui Tonga to a Tui Haa Takalaua's daughter was to the daughter of the seventh Tui Haa Takalaua. Presumably the blood relationship may have been regarded as too close.

The Tui Haa Takalaua was a kind of supervisor for the Tui Tonga. Among his duties was to see that the people cultivated their plantations. He was *hau* of the archipelago, serving the Tui Tonga. The Tui Kanokupolu had similar duties. The early Tui Kanokupolu were appointed by the Tui Haa Takalaua. The term *tonuahau* (the ruler's freedom from error) indicates the exalted position of the *hau* and the fact that no one dare draw attention to his errors.

The connection of the *hau* (a term applied to either the Tui Haa Takalaua or the Tui Kanokupolu) with the *inasi* ceremony is thus stated by Mariner (40, vol. 2, p. 208): "As soon as they [yams] have arrived at a state of maturity, the *How* [*hau*] sends a messenger to Tooitonga [Tui Tonga], stating that the yams for the *inachi* are fit to be taken up, and requesting that he would appoint a day for the ceremony..."

The residence of the Tui Haa Takalaua was at Fonuamotu, a place on the lagoon shore adjacent to Lapaha, near the Tui Tonga's residence. The inland location of the Tui Tonga's house and the waterside location of the Tui Haa Takalaua's residence seem to have given rise to the terms Kauhalauta (the inland side of the road) and Kauhalalalo (the shore side of the road). The Tui Kanokupolu is included in the Kauhalalalo. Distinctive kava ceremonials characterize the two.

McKern (42) lists features in the vicinity of Fonuamotu, the Tui Haa Takalaua's seat, which give some conception of the extent of his establishment.

The following are the marriages of Tui Haa Takalaua to sisters and nieces of the Tui Tonga, but not Female Tui Tonga or Tamaha:

Tui Haa Takalaua 7. Fotofili married Atalua, half sister of 31 T. T. Kauulufonua III.

Tui Haa Takalaua 11. Kafoa married Totoinukuosi, sister of 32 T. T. Uluakimata II.

Tui Haa Takalaua 10. Tatafu married Mateitala, sister's daughter of 35 T. T. Tui Pulotu II.

The Tui Haa Takalaua seem never to have married daughters of the Tui Kanokupolu, but four Tui Kanokupolu married daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

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the person of the Tui Kanokupolu Maealiuaki who entertained Cook. Maealiuaki's son Mulikihaamea also held the two offices, but apparently not simultaneously.

The relative powers of the Tui Kanokupolu and the Tui Tonga at the end of the eighteenth century are well set forth by Wilson (65, p. 384):

> At Tongataboo an oligarchy seems to prevail, at the head of which is a monarch of the Futtafāihe [Fatafehi] race, to whom all pay homage; yet another person, under the title of Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu], has the chief power and authority, commanding the army by sea and land: whether this office be hereditary or elective is not ascertained. Toogahōwe [Tukuaho], though not the eldest son, on the death of Tibo Moomōoe [Mumui], assumed the government; his acknowledged warlike character probably removed every competitor. Besides these, other chiefs seem possessed of great power. . . . Tongataboo resembles most the government of Japan, where the sacred majesty is a sort of state prisoner to the captain-general; but at the Friendly Islands Futtafāihe [Fatafehi] has great authority, though Dugonagaboola [Tui Kanokupolu] seems as superior in command as he acknowledges himself inferior in dignity.

In another account Wilson says (66, pp. liii, lv):

> Poulaho being dead, his son Futtafāihe succeeded him in the sovereignty; but he being a voluptuous man, the government is chiefly conducted by Fenou Toogahōue [Tukuaho], the present commander in chief, who is said to be nephew of the former. His superiority as a warrior and a man of business, gives a preponderance to his authority. The influence of the royal family seems also to have been diminished by a civil war, which Tōogahoue has waged with success. . . .
>
> The direction in which it [the Tongan archipelago] chiefly extends being north and south, renders the communication each way practicable during the trade wind; and most, if not all the islands, are regularly visited by the sovereign [Tui Tonga] or the commander in chief [Tui Kanokupolu].

With Mulikihaamea's death, 1799, the office of Tui Haa Takalaua became permanently vacant. The Tui Kanokupolu assumed the duties and evidently saw to it that no successor was appointed. It seems obvious, however, that the Tui Haa Takalaua had declined in power even more rapidly than the Tui Tonga and so fell an easy prey to the grasping Tui Kanokupolu. The similarity of functions of the two offices made the absorption the easier. Both largely handled the temporal and military affairs of the kingdom. The elimination of the Tui Haa Takalaua was a big step toward the ultimate goal of the Tui Kanokupolu, the kingship.

No small amount of the prestige of the Tui Kanokupolu's office was due to wise matrimonial alliances. The elder daughter of the Tui Kanokupolu was usually espoused by the Tui Tonga as his chief wife and mother of the next Tui Tonga.

A notable marriage was that of Atamataila (the second Tui Kanokupolu) to the Tamaha Tuimala, the most exalted personage in the kingdom. Some generations later Tupoulahisii (the tenth Tui Kanokupolu) married the Tamaha Latufuipeka.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Of marriages of Tui Kanokupolu to daughters of the Tui Tonga, but one is recorded, that of Mataeletuapiko to Fatafehi. Marriages to daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua were more popular. The first recorded is that of Mataelehaamea to Kaloafutonga, daughter of the eighth Tui Haa Takalaua (Vaea). The fifth Tui Kanokupolu (Vuna) married Lehauku, daughter of the twelfth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tui Onukulava); the thirteenth Tui Kanokupolu (Mumui) married Vailolomoli, daughter of the tenth Tui Haa Takalaua (Tatafu), and Mulikihaamea (the eleventh Tui Kanokupolu and last Tui Haa Takalaua) married Tupouahau and Mapatoutai, daughters of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.

Although office in Tonga passes from father to son, rank is determined even more by the mother than by the father. Therefore a list of the mothers of the Tui Kanokupolu is of interest.

1. Ngata. Mother, Tohuia, daughter of the chief Ama of Safata, Upolu Island, Samoa.
2. Atamataila. Mother, Kaufoou, daughter of Ahomee.
3. Mataeletuapiko. Mother, Tokilupe, daughter of Tui Haa Tuunga, of Nukunuku, Tongatabu Island.
4. Mataelehaamea. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
5. Vuna. Mother, Papa, daughter of Aokatoa, the Tui Haamea.
6. Maafuotuitonga. Mother, Kaloafutonga, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Vaea.
7. Tupoulahi. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
8. Maealiuaki. Mother, Latutama, daughter of Fakatakatau, the Tui Haa Teiho.
9. Tuihalafatai. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
10. Tupoulahisii. Mother, Uheina, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua Fuatakifolaha.
11. Mulikihaamea. Mother, Lupematakui, daughter of Tungimanaia, the Tui Haa Teiho.
12. Mumui. Mother, Popua.
13. Tupoumoheofo. Mother, Fuonuku, daughter of Tokemoana, the son's son of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata II.
14. Tukuaho. Mother, Lepolo, daughter of Atafakahau, the second Ata.
15. Maafulimuloa. Mother, Kaufusi.
16. Tupoumalohi. Mother, Pee.
17. Tupoutoa. Mother, Uluakilupetea.
18. Aleamotua. Josiah, or Tupou in Faletuipapai. Mother, Kaufusi, daughter of Fielakepa.
19. George I (Taufaahau I). Mother, Hoamofaleono, daughter of Maafu Tukuiaulahi.
20. George II (Taufaahau II). Mother, Fusipala, son's daughter of Tui Kanokupolu George I.
21. Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. Mother, Lavinia Veiongo, daughter of Kupu.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE TUI KANOKUPOLU

Although the first Tui Kanokupolu probably took up his residence in Hihifo as lord of the people of western Tongatabu, that district was not the perpetual residence of this enterprising line of chiefs. In Cook's time the Tui Kanokupolu was residing at Mua, the seat of the Tui Tonga and the

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

matapules, or commoners. However, the terms *eiki* (chief) and *tua* (commoner) are used also in a relative sense. Thus, throughout the Tongan social structure at its various levels, we find people performing analogous functions, receiving similar treatment and having like terms applied to them. To cite polar examples: Tungi, the Prince Consort, is *eiki* to a large district, and of the two girls Ika and Fakatoumafi (see page 18), Ika is *eiki* to Fakatoumafi. The district owes deference to Tungi, and Fakatoumafi owes deference to Ika.

Because of primogeniture, it is obvious that the descendants of younger siblings sink in rank. The commoner is the man in a line of descent that gets further and further from the head of the lineage with each succeeding generation. Regression is a simpler process than progression and for every person who rises in rank there are many who correspondingly sink. In a large measure, a person is the victim of the circumstances of his birth; his position in society is predetermined by his parentage, by his sex and by the order of his birth within the family. In modern Tonga with its constitutional government and its dual house of parliament there are, of course, possibilities open to the commoner which were closed to him in former times. But even in ancient times there is evidence that certain individuals managed to move up the social ladder slightly above the rung on which the circumstances of birth appear to have placed them.

For example, Latukefu, a member of the Haa Ngata Motua, is reckoned as a chief, although by blood he is a commoner. He is Tui Pangai (page 104) and his business is to examine the plantations of the people and to tapu food which will be desired by the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs or the Tui Kanokupolu. Latukefu is not a member of the Haa Ngata Motua by virtue of descent from the first Tui Kanokupolu, but by the adoption of one of his forefathers into the lineage. To-day he is recognized as a "brother of all of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs." It is said that the original adoption was made because the Latukefu of that day was quite well off and was a very industrious agriculturist. This may not be true as anciently a chief might arbitrarily seize a commoner's goods; there was no necessity of making a chief out of a commoner merely to utilize his plantation produce, but at any rate, Latukefu to-day ranks the great matapule Motuapuaka. In the absence of Ahio and Ata, he is the president of the kava ring of the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs.

Theoretically, the highest matapules are ranked by the lowest chiefs and anciently the position was recognized. But to-day the two great matapules Motuapuka and Lauaki, possess hereditary lands of considerable extent which places them in a position superior to many chiefs who are without hereditary lands.

Another factor which brings about a lessening of rank is marriage to women of low rank. One informant said that anciently a young chief might

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

be killed because of marriage with *tua* women. However, I doubt if this happened often, for the amours of young chiefs seem to have been regarded as proper. Be that as it may, the statement was made that there are but few chiefs to-day who have no *tua* blood in their veins. Anciently a young chief, if he could find no bride in the chiefly class, was supposed to marry the daughter of a matapule. The offspring of such a marriage naturally would not have so high a rank as the offspring by a chiefly wife. In polygynous marriages the children rank according as their mothers are ranked. Of the several sons of a chief, one only, and he usually the eldest by a woman of chiefly rank, inherited the father's title and position, the others retaining only their names and receiving no title. In the official kava ring (*alofi*) only the title bearer could sit, his brothers having to sit outside of the ring behind the kava makers in what is called the *tova*. Younger brothers and their descendants became virtually the servants of their older brothers and sisters.

The manner in which blood becomes adulterated by marriage is illustrated in one of the great chiefly families of to-day: the preceding holder of the title had a number of sons, all of whom married women of *tua* rank, except the father of the present title holder, who married a chiefly woman. In ancient times the offspring of *tua* women by chiefs were somewhat like serfs, inasmuch as they were bound in service to their hereditary lord and master, the great chief, or his son who succeeded him. Thomson (54, p. 222) has summed up the relationship of chief and commoner:

> The Tongans had reached a stage of development midway between the patriarchal and feudal systems. Their chiefs had the blood of the founder of the family in its purest form, and were the earthly incarnations of their deified ancestors. Each chief had hereditary retainers who followed him to battle, and obeyed him in time of peace; but the constant wars during the latter half of the eighteenth century had created a lower class of servants than these—the *tu'a*, children of prisoners of war. These, together with the illegitimate children of the chief's father or grandfather (his cousins, in fact, for a chief bred servants for his descendants), were in the nature of serfs, leading, however, an easier life than such a designation would imply. The missionaries had perhaps read of Peter the Great and Wilberforce, and they too panted to win the grateful admiration of posterity. To their heated fancy the people appeared as slaves, because they yielded service without fixed wages, and nothing would content them but a formal liberation. They did not stop to reflect that these "serfs" were fed and clothed by their chief, and that as members of his household they enjoyed privileges which men of their low rank could not hope for in other societies.

On June 4, 1862, the Tui Kanokupolu George I declared all chiefs and people at liberty from vassalage and serfdom.

Most commoners trace relationship, some perhaps fictitiously, to one of the great chiefs, including the Tui Tonga. Four great chiefs told me that all commoners are related to chiefs and matapules, and conversely that all chiefs and matapules have commoner relatives, such relatives in fact, usually constituting the following of a chief.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

On the morning of the sixth day the boys went out and bathed in the ocean. This bath was called *kaukautapu*. Each boy took off his own bandages and bathed without anyone's aid. When they returned to the shore the operator and two assistants met them and redressed and bandaged the boys in the same fashion as formerly. This bandage is said to have had no name other than *lalava*, or *kaihai*.

There followed a big feast, although the operator was furnished free food throughout the period. All the women ate by themselves; the men ate with the boys. The tapu was lifted and this fact was announced to each boy by his father or male guardian. A present of oven products (food), mats, tapa, and other materials was assembled by the fathers of the boys and presented to the operator. Other ovens were opened for the general feast in honor of the boys. No present was given them. Even if a boy died from the operation, as sometimes occurred, the father of this boy contributed his share to the present for the operator. The boy was always believed to have died because he broke some one of the tapus. After this feast, the tapus were resumed for four more days and nights. Bandages, like the first, were worn for two weeks after this feast. The tapus are said to have had no names.

MARRIAGE

Collocott (12) has published a brief account of marriage in Tonga, but it seems worth while to present my data here, as they are fuller in some particulars.

Marriages are classified as *feofaaki* (for love), *aleai* (arranged) and *fatongia* (duty), this last term applying only to cross-cousin marriages. To marry two wives at one and the same time is called *hamaua*.

Wilson (66, p. liv) states:

> Polygamy is established, but adultery is punished with death.
> The lascivious practices which are almost universal there [Georgian Islands] seem to be usually restricted here to common prostitutes of the lowest class.

The Tongan term for prostitute is *muitau*. It is perhaps to such a person that the term *finelangatotoa* (a woman who steals home from her paramour's house before the break of day) would be also applied.

The principal relative concerned with marriage plans of young people is the father's sister. She may often take upon herself the ordering of the marriage arrangements of her brother's children and may veto their plans of marriage and impose her own. A girl destined to become the wife of a chief wears two long tresses, one on each side of her head.

As mentioned by Collocott (12, p. 222) an oven of food (*veifua*) is presented to the bride by her brother.

The sororate (*tongipou*), following the death of the wife, was practiced in Tonga but the levirate was said to be infrequent. Cross-cousin marriage of a man to his mother's brother's daughters was common among chiefs, but rare among commoners. A girl who becomes the bride of her cross cousin is denoted by the term *kititama*. Marriage to identical cousins was regarded as improper. The only such marriage recorded was on Ata Island where were also a considerable number of cross-cousin marriages

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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tors, which it would be sacrilegious to take away while it was good for any thing.

Finow had three daughters, the eldest of whom, now about eighteen years of age, had been long betrothed to Tooitonga, who having expressed his wish that the marriage should take place, Finow gave orders for the necessary preparations, about five days after the above-mentioned ceremony. Tooitonga was now about forty years of age. The particulars of this chief's marriage, which was somewhat different from those of other chiefs, shall be here described.

The young lady having been profusely anointed with cocoa-nut oil, scented with sandal-wood, was dressed in the choicest mats of the Navigator's islands, of the finest texture, and as soft as silk; so many of these costly mats were wrapped round her, perhaps more than forty yards, that her arms stuck out from her body in a ludicrous manner; and she could not, strictly speaking, sit down, but was obliged to bend in a sort of half-sitting posture, leaning upon her female attendants, who were under the necessity of again raising her when she required it. A young girl, about five years of age, was also dressed out in a similar manner, to be her immediate and particular handmaid. Four other young virgins, about sixteen years of age, were also her fol-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tions of the gods, could prevent him turning his immediate attention to the necessary preparations for a speedy attack on Vavaoo. Intermediate and unexpected events, however, put a stop, for a time, to these preparations.

At this period, there arrived from Hamoa (the Navigator's islands), Finow's son and heir, Moegnagnongo, after an absence of five years; with him came another great chief, whose name was Voona, and who had formerly been chief of Vavaoo; they and their retinue had sailed from Hamoa in six canoes, one of which, containing sixty persons, and all Moegnagnongo's treasures, was lost in a gale of wind. In their way they had touched at Vavaoo, not knowing the political situation of the island, and were very near being forcibly detained; but, observing something suspicious in the conduct of the people, they put off to sea again, and thus made their escape in time.

Their arrival at Lefooga occasioned great feasting and rejoicing, which lasted many days, and served to divert the king from his immediate warlike projects.

Two daughters of chiefs had, for several years, been kept apart, and reserved to be the wives of the young prince (as we shall beg leave to call him, to avoid the frequent repetition of his uncouth name), as soon as he

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 should return from Hamoa. He had, indeed,
581 brought two wives with him, natives of that
[177] place, but, finding that his friends at home had not been unmindful of him in this particular, he resolved to marry these young maidens also: and partly to please his own humour, and partly to afford a little amusement to the Hapai people, he resolved, also, that the ceremony should be performed, for the most part, after the manner of the Navigator's islands.

634 On the morning of the day of marriage,[A]
585 which was about a week after the arrival of the
[565] prince, most of the lower class of the people were employed in bringing from different parts of the island, yams, ripe plantains, and bananas; cocoa-nuts, bread fruit, fish, and cakes*. These were piled up on the *maldi* in four large heaps, with a baked pig on the top of each.
[294] The people assembled on the spot, dressed up
[301] in new garments, ornamented with wreaths of
[302] flowers, and with red ribbands made of the fine membrane of the leaf of the *lo acbw*, much resembling silk: their persons were anointed with sweet-scented oil. The spectators seated themselves in two sections of a circle, one beginning from the right, the other from the left

[262] * These cakes are made of flour prepared from the *Ma-*
[254] *hod root* (see the vocabulary), mixed up with scraped cocoa-nut into a paste, and baked. They are considered a luxury.

A [of Finow's son--Analyst]

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

a positive duty in every married woman to remain true to her husband. What we mean by a married woman is, one who cohabits with a man, and lives under his roof and protection, holding an establishment of him. A woman's marriage is frequently independent of her consent, she having been betrothed by her parents, at an early age, to some chief, mataboole or mooa: perhaps about one third of the married women have been thus betrothed; the remaining two thirds have married with their free consent. Every married woman must remain with her husband whether she choose it or not, until he please to divorce her. Mr. Mariner thinks that about two thirds of the women are married, and of this number full half remain with their husbands till death separates them; that is to say, full one third of the female population remain married till either themselves or their husbands die: the remaining two thirds are married and are soon divorced, and are married again perhaps three, four, or five times in their lives, with the exception of a few who, from whim or some accidental cause, are never married; so that about one third of the whole female population, as before stated, are at any given point of time unmarried. This calculation is made with due reference to the women living on the plantations, who are almost all married to the

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

tooas who till the ground, and remain constantly so; the unmarried women, therefore, live principally at the mooa, or place where the chiefs, matabooles, &c. dwell, and are attendants upon them or their wives. Girls that are too young to be marriageable are not taken into account. Having thus ascertained, as nearly as possible, the proportion of married women, we shall make an inquiry how far it may reasonably be supposed they are entitled to the reputation of fidelity. During the whole of Mr. Mariner's four years residence at one or other of these islands, he had frequent opportunities of intimacy with the wives of chiefs; for being a foreigner, and a white man, he was free from a great many restrictions to which the natives are subject: for instance, whenever he pleased he could go in the houses of Finow's wives, or of the wives of other chiefs, and converse freely with them as long as he chose, which was a liberty that no male native could take beside the husband, relations, or the cooks that carried in the victuals; and from habit they became so much accustomed to his company and conversation as to think very little more of his presence than of one of their own sex, and consequently he had every favourable opportunity of becoming acquainted with their habits and sentiments, particularly as one of the old king's wives, his

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

may also do without the least reproach or the least secrecy. From this circumstance we may draw an argument in favour of the chastity of the women generally, for if they were of a different character it is natural to suppose that very few would marry, except those who, when very young, were betrothed to chiefs, and consequently married independently of their consent: but we find that three times that number are actually married: and as many are married three, four, or five times, it cannot be from an unchaste, libertine, or wandering disposition on the part of the women, seeing that when once divorced they may remain single if they please, and enjoy all the liberty that the most libertine heart can desire. If now it be asked, "Why then do they marry?" The answer is, for love of one object, with the idea that the object of their affections will *always* make them happy; and if they are disappointed in one instance they are willing to try it in a second, a third, &c.: in short, it would appear that the force of sentimental affection blinds them to the probability of a disappointment, and they willingly make a generous sacrifice of their liberty to prove the strength of their attachment*.

As to those women who are not actually mar-

* The position, that every woman is at heart a rake, does not appear to hold true in the Tonga islands.

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 They went there and having obtained food they dined. All those things which had happened were the result of the knowledge obtained by Hina from her mother, who had traveled that way, but Tulifaukiave was ignorant of this.

After their repast Hina told Tulifaukiave to go and bathe in a pool on the beach which was their mother's vomit. He did so and became wonderfully beautiful. Then she addressed him thus, "Come and prepare yourself to go and take part in the feast which is in progress. It is being held for the purpose of choosing a husband for the daughter of the king, and the entertainment that is being given there is 'boxing'." Tulifaukiave put on his garment (*vala*) and a turban, covering one of his eyes with it. The youth then set out for the feast. The moment he came into sight, the king's daughter cried out, "There is my husband! Seize him!" The youth was thereupon seized and led before the king.

There was an old man standing there whose son was present, who had repeatedly covered up with leaves those who had been chosen by the girl, so that the girl might choose his son. The old man was tired of doing this and was not able to do the slightest thing to Tulifaukiave. Therefore the king told Tulifaukiave that his daughter had chosen him to be her husband and that the marriage was to take place forthwith. The youth begged the king to excuse him until he went to the beach, as his sister was there, for their parents were dead. The king said, "How will it do if someone is sent for her?" The youth replied that he himself should be allowed to go for her. Tulifaukiave went and told Hina. Forthwith she went and bathed in the pool in which their mother had vomited; after her bath she put on an old mat, which was a sign of poverty and destitution, in order to make it plain that they were poor and destitute; and Tulifaukiave's garment was an old abandoned one.

They eventually set out for the king's house, and on their arrival there the king's daughter took Hina for a bath and clothed her becomingly, after which the marriage of the king's daughter to Tulifaukiave took place. Hina was married to the king's son. The king then ordered Hina and his son to go and rule over another part of the country, but Tulifaukiave and the king's daughter ruled in the king's part of the country, as the king abdicated on account of old age. Later on Tulifaukiave begot a daughter, and Hina gave birth to a son.

When they were grown up Tulifaukiave's daughter was taken and married to Hina's son, which is like this: "She went to roll up the mats [581] of Hina's son," which thing is the origin of sending one person to roll up another person's mats, which custom is still in vogue among the chiefs of

5: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

539 [581]

Tonga. In these days it is called perpetuating the blood, that is the blood of chiefs, through the marriage of relatives.

HINA AND SINILAU[128]

Hina was the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaua. She lived with her father in Tongatabu. News of Hina's marvellous beauty had spread far and wide, even to distant Samoa.

Sinilau, who resided in Samoa, heard of the wondrous beauty of Tonga and resolved to journey to Tonga to see her loveliness for himself. So launching his double sailing canoe (*kalia*) he and his brother sailed for Tonga. During the trip Sinilau did not remove his turban. They arrived in Tonga during the night.

They proceeded to the place where Hina resided. They found it brilliantly illuminated, surrounded by eight fences or enclosures, and guarded by one hundred guards. The house stood in the middle of the grounds and was continually guarded for the protection of the girl Hina. As they stood outside the walls, Sinilau said to his brother: "Stay here. I will seek the girl and look upon her beauty, but, if I do not return by the second cock's-crow, you will know that I am dead. In that case return at once to Samoa." The brother of Sinilau answered: "Very well."

It was strictly forbidden for anyone to enter the place, but Sinilau climbed the fences and finally entered the house in which the girl was. He entered just as a man was saying: "I am absolutely tired of attending watch fires at night for the girl's protection." Immediately Sinilau spoke up, saying: "Please hand me your brand. I will attend the watch fire." "All right," the man assented, "come and take my place." So Sinilau went forward and took the brand and the other man went to sleep.

In his endeavors to approach the girl Hina, Sinilau extinguished all the one hundred watch fires. Then he went into the girl's room and tried to extinguish her lamp and after repeated efforts succeeded in doing so. Whilst he was doing this the girl was awake. He sidled up to her, but she turned and kicked him. Still Sinilau edged closer and she again kicked him and spat on him. Yet Sinilau resolved to make one more trial, at the same time making up his mind to desist and return to Samoa if he was kicked again, for after all the flowers of Samoa were sweet and much more easily plucked.

As he edged up Hina kicked him and spat on him again. Immediately he left, climbing through the window [*sic!*]. Hina saw for the first time that her lover was Sinilau. Infatuated with his handsome figure she at

[128] Told by Matilda Anderson, of Pangai, Lifuka island, Haapai.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
009 Tonga 009

539 461 829 **8. Nae hanga ki fe hoo sipeiti:** Where was your spade turned, that is, what has your spade been turned towards?

This is the usual retort to one who begs that which he should have prepared for himself. It refers primarily to the produce of the garden but is used of wealth generally. The word *sipeiti* is not Tongan, but a corruption of the English "spade." Whether, before contact with Europeans, there was a similar expression with the real Tongan word for a spade or digging-stick, we are unable to say.

539 241 461 **9. Matenga i vao kaka:** Fatigue in barren soil.

The word *vao* signifies a piece of scrub land. The husbandman in preparing for his garden selects a site and clears the brush. This expression is applicable to one who undergoes the labor and fatigue of clearing and planting a piece of land that proves unfertile. It is labor in vain.

539 173 643 581 **10. Ne ongo e fena ka ko Nua:** Although she has sprouted yet *Nua*.

An early Tui Tonga sent to the chief Loau for one of his daughters. Instead of asking outright for the girl the Tui Tonga's messenger was instructed to ask Loau for yams. Possibly the messenger himself did not know the purport of his errand but Loau at once understood, probably from previous agreement between himself and the Tui Tonga. Loau had two daughters, the younger not yet of marriageable age, the other named Nua, had recently borne a child. Loau, therefore, still in the language of the yam crop, returned answer to the Tui Tonga that one part of the crop was not yet ripe, and that the other part had already sprouted, using the word *fena*, which means a piece of seed yam which has been planted and commenced to grow. The Tui Tonga replied as above, meaning of course that although Nua had borne a child to someone else yet he still wanted her, for she was a very beautiful woman.

11. Oku fena ae tau kei mula ae tau: The crop is sprouting, the crop is still unripe.

As explained in No. 10, the reference is to the answer of Loau to the Tui Tonga, who sent for one of Loau's daughters. One is over-ripe, and the other is not ripe enough.

539 245 **12. Paki moe talaha:** Pick the remainders too.

In the breadfruit tree all the fruit do not ripen together, and so in plucking the crop the ripe fruit will be taken and the others left to mature. This expression means to strip the tree bare of unripe as well as of ripe fruit.

539 244 622 **13. Pala a kahokaho:** Rottenness of the *kahokaho*.

The *kahokaho* is a species of yam which grows to a great size and is highly valued. It is a chiefly yam, that is, one especially suitable for presentation to a chief. Even if this prime vegetable has commenced to decay yet it is a *kahokaho*, and something better than the best specimens of many other kinds of yam. Besides what may be called its ethical qualifications due to its rank in the yam hierarchy it is a physically fit tuber, as the remainder of the flesh is not affected by the beginnings of decay.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 825 773 **181. Kai aipe manu vaivai i he fangota ae lulutai:** Weak animals are just eaten up when the *lulutai* goes fishing.

The *lulutai*, which would seem to mean literally the sea-owl, is alleged to have been a great bird and is identified, though without certainty, with the mythological *kanivatu*, the huge bird to whose breast Kae clung and was borne across the ocean from Pulotu to Samoa. With regard to this proverb it is said that when the *lulutai* went out for fish the larger sea creatures, such as the whale, were the object of his quest to be taken home to his haunts. Smaller creatures were merely tit-bits casually swallowed by the way. So do the strong prey upon the weak, destroying and consuming them as a thing hardly worth noticing.

539 825 821 [136] **182. Lofa tala matangi:** Tern telling wind.

The appearance of the tern (Sterna sp.) indicates the approach of a hurricane. Expressions of this sort are capable of much the same application in Tongan as in English; for example, when you see So-and-So coming you always know that something is the matter.

539 825 581 **183. Lulu taki lulu:** Owl leading owl.

Used generally of the mating of things that suit each other. It is said to have originated with the marriage of Fiŋta Puku, son of the Tui Haangana, with Fatafehi Lapaha, the Female Tui Tonga. Both man and woman were exceedingly handsome.

539 825 829 461 [136] **184. Mamahi noa ngutu o fuiva:** Mouth of fly-catcher (*Myiolestes heinci*) labors in vain; or labor in vain of the mouth of the fly-catcher.

The fly-catcher has a sweet note, but his singing is mere waste of time so far as getting food is concerned. So used of anyone who goes to much pains but gets no fruit for his labor. This expression was used of a chief who was vainly assiduous in his addresses to a lady.

539 825 829 571 [136] **185. Tengetenga utuaki maa miji:** *Tengetenga* carrying (food) for *miji*.

Tengetenga is a local name in Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's Island) for the *fuiva* (fly-catcher, *Myiolestes heinci*); *miji* is also the name of a bird (*Aplonis tabuensis*). The *tengetenga* is the smaller of these two birds, and the phrase is used for the weak helping the strong, "the poor feeding the rich." (Baker.)

539 825 **186. Molumalu faka-kaka:** Fine like a parrot.

The parrot (*kaka*) found in Eua has an abundance of handsome plumage and with his feathers on looks a large full-fleshed bird. Divested of this showy covering his body is found to be small and thin. Applied to that which is showy but is found to be of little worth.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

399. Malimali loto: Smiling (in the) heart. 539 152 828

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

400. Mata mea fooua: Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

401. Pauu afi mata: Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

402. Tuai e kemo: The wink (is) slow. 539 805

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

403. Finemotua fie finemui: Old woman wanting to be young woman. 539 561 888

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita: Ugly but I chose myself. 539

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome but she is the choice of her husband. 832 581

405. Uliuli a fine Eua: The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched. 832 562 184

406. Jiji a pakiji: The wiry man is lean. 539

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain redundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin. 826

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

his son was going thither on a festive occasion, he invited me to accompany him. I was pleased with the prospect of an excursion, and fitted out the canoe, which I had built, with the assistance of my workmen, for the voyage.

I was much entertained in the tour, and joined the natives in all their amusements. The chief, whom we visited, mentioned to me a young person, whom he wished I would do him the honour to marry, that he might be related to me. She was a fair pretty girl, only fourteen years of age. I did not take her as my wife, but espoused her by a matrimonial ceremony, which often takes place, like the jewish espousal, years before the consummation of the nuptials.

The matrimonial ceremonies were performed at this time, in a grand marriage, between Dugonagaboola, and the daughter of a chief of Arbai. To honour his nuptials by our attendance, was the cause of our excursion thither. Upon our arrival, we found Dugonagaboola had been there a fortnight, to provide for the festivities of his approaching wedding. By this time, a large store of provisions was accumulated, consisting of pigs, yams, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c.; all which, on the bridal morn, were brought in regular order before the chief, whose daughter was to be married, and presented to him.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

days, then went back to Ha'akio again. He conjured up some excuse to talk to the girl's mother and to Sepi herself.

For the following three months he visited Ha'akio, usually once each week. He discussed marriage with Sepi and when she seemed agreeable, he proceeded to discuss the matter further with her father and relatives. They looked with disfavour on his suit, alleging that he was too young. Probably they were unsure as yet whether this was the best marriage that Sepi could make. After this rebuff, Biukala tried to persuade Sepi to agree to a runaway marriage. She would not, insisting that Biukala must try again to obtain her relatives' assent, as was the proper Tongan custom.

By this time Biukala decided that strong measures were necessary if anything was to come of his courtship. He persuaded his father and four of the older men of his family to go to Ha'akio and consult with the menfolk of Sepi's family. Biukala stayed in Pangai. The men took with them the largest sized root of *kava*, a forty-pound tin of biscuits, and some mats, as a present to Sepi's household. After an all-day *kava*-session together with much discussion, Sepi's family was persuaded to agree to the marriage. This took place the following week. It was the biggest marriage-feast ever held in Pangai. Sepi's father provided about fifty pigs. Biukala's father, feeling that the honour of his household was at stake, added a further seventy pigs to the celebration.

In elaborating on the virtues of Sepi, Biukala noted that her household was fairly wealthy in pigs and food, that Sepi had spent ten years in a mission-school in Neiafu. She had been well trained in both the arts of Tonga and of the white woman. She was skilful at making *kava*, mats, and bark cloth. She could also cook white man's food, could knit and wash clothes. She was industrious, clean, and had had plenty of experience in bringing up the numerous younger children in her household. Biukala never remarked about his wife's beauty. According to village ideals, indeed, she had little.

This account of Biukala emphasizes many facets of village-culture today. There is no suggestion of romantic love. There is a cool weighing of advantages before courtship begins. There is interest in securing a mate who has had opportunity to learn some of the white woman's skills. Knowing her worth in this connection, the girl's family is

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

585 [591] the bride and groom slept at Semisi's house. Thereafter they went to live with the bride's family in Toula on a sort of extended visit.

585 178 [177] This marriage as just described shows very clearly the blending of old and new. The feasting and gift-giving are Tongan, the civil registration and church-marriage originally white importations, though now none of the villagers but conceives them as anything but right and natural. The necessity for the young people to obtain the consent of their elders before the marriage can be carried out is also well [833] illustrated. Finally, the custom of delaying intercourse for a noticeable period after the marriage ceremony is still strongly observed as one of the customs which no villager would think of breaking.

ELOPEMENT

584 [581] It is obvious from the foregoing accounts of marriage that the elders may and do decide whether a marriage shall occur. Their decision is generally based on a cool calculation of compatibility together with such matters as reputation for industry, relative wealth of the family of the groom, and other materialistic factors. The elders must also be prepared, should they assent to the marriage, with suitable quantities of food and mats for the celebration of the 584 561 178 marriage. Many young people today rebel against this domination by their elders, and many elders (it must be admitted) are not unhappy over this rebellion if it saves them in the expenditure of food and gifts necessary for the proper Tongan marriage. Elopements and marriages with- 584 583 178 out consent of parents are therefore becoming not uncommon in the village. This is shown by the fact already mentioned, that of thirty-five marriages studied, sixteen only were full-style Tongan marriages, the remaining nineteen being civil- and church-registrations only, without the benefit of gift-giving and feasting.

583 593 Two young people who marry without consent of their parents may return to Pangai if they feel that the anger of their parents is not too great to be faced, or else they may find shelter with distant relatives or friends in far-away villages if parents' ire is great, only returning to Pangai

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of children.[35] There is as yet no evidence of a European cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the exception that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral proceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice, before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously informal, has now become institutionalized by the establishment of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the content of this system are based on European models, the language of instruction is Tongan. This means that whatever changes are introduced into the village culture by the ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonetheless he is still viewing this culture through the medium of his own native language. The basis of communication within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and language-patterns which are given formal structure by the

[35] Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other!

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

and, during the last few months, the government was said to have been in the hands of a Hebrew firm, which contracted for the public supplies. In the eighth year of the king's reign it was felt that it was time for him to marry. Overtures are said to have been made to more than one Polynesian princess, but public feeling ran high in favour of Ofa, a near kinswoman of Tukuaho, and therefore a chief woman of the Haatakalaua line. The betrothal was announced, and preparations had already been made for the royal wedding, when the king announced that he preferred Lavinia, Kubu's daughter, who, though descended from the Tui Tonga on her father's side, inherited inferior rank and congenital weakness from her mother. A meeting of all the high chiefs was summoned in Nukualofa, which recommended the king to make Ofa his queen; but His Majesty's reply, that, if he were not allowed to marry Lavinia, he would not marry at all, threw the meeting into confusion, and he was permitted to have his way under protest. It seems that the Lavinia party, though numerically inferior, trotted out that ancient stalking horse, the Constitution, to prove to their antagonists that inasmuch as "it shall not be lawful for any member of the royal family, who is

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

643 likely to succeed to the throne, to marry any
644 person without the consent of the king," the king
581 was free to give consent to his own marriage
642 with any person he pleased. This argument,
645 so characteristic of the sophistry of the Tongan
642 mind, was gravely set forth to me in a letter
685 from my old colleague Asibeli Kubu, the father of His Majesty's preference; it reminded me of a legal judgment delivered during Mr. Baker's term of office, when two men, indicted for the theft of a pig, were sentenced to ten years' penal servitude for conspiracy, because in the evidence it had transpired that by mutual agreement one of the accused had kept watch while the other did the stealing. "Therefore," said his worship, "not only did you steal the pig, which is a small matter in itself, but you conspired together to steal it; and having sought in the index of this code for the clause concerning conspiracy, I find the minimum sentence to be ten years. To that term I sentence you, and you may think yourselves fortunate that I do not punish you for the theft as well."

643 To have the "Konisitutone" thrown at their
644 heads was more than the nobles had reckoned
581 upon. They might be wrong in law, but they
645 knew what they wanted, and they broke up their

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

meeting grumbling, and departed, each to his own home. The king, boycotted by all but his immediate adherents and the relations of his bride, kept close within the palace compound; the marriage feast was but sparsely attended, and the dissatisfaction of the people vented itself in attempts to burn public buildings and the houses of unpopular members of the royal party. The last of these incendiary attempts had occurred shortly before my visit.

Meanwhile, my old acquaintance Mr. Shirley Waldemar Baker, a person so remarkable in the Pacific that it will some day be a public duty to write his biography, had turned up again. Having spent several years in Auckland after his deportation by the High Commissioner, he had made overtures to the Free Church of Tonga to accept him as their president. The Conference considered his application with the utmost gravity, and replied that, while they would be glad to welcome him as a minister, the office of president happened to be filled. That the Church of his own creation should treat him so was more than he could bear, and his next letter was a grim intimation that they would hear of him again. Those who knew him best may have felt an uncomfortable shiver at the threat, but none in

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

called *fokonofo*. The Tongan creation myth relates that when the gods were first a-courting, and the world was in course of coming into being, one of the goddesses secured as *fokonofo* for her husband two of her sister divinities, and tradition ascribes to the ancient king Tui-ta-tui, wives so successfully zealous in adding to his harem, that even Solomon's household does not appear by comparison the outstanding achievement that the unenterprising European might regard it. 622 595 773

The chiefs were said to have a pre-emptive right to all the women in their tribes. In theory the chiefs had the absolute disposal of the persons and property of their people. Stories are related of the king Tukuaho—not the diarist—which show the harsh caprice with which a great lord might treat his people, as, for example, when he ordered the hands of his cooks to be cut off because they had prepared his food badly; but the murder of this tyrant after less than three years of his sullen rule shows that, in Tonga as elsewhere, natural human reactions impose practical checks on theoretical absolutism. 622 837 421 643 687

Evidently the chiefs freely used their privileges in love, but there is no reason to suppose that the lower orders of society were thereby deprived of mates. Intrigue with the wife of a superior, however, was a very grave breach, and might even lead to the man being killed by his own people, without waiting for the vengeance of the chief. On the other hand there is a story of a king who left his wife and babe in charge of another man whilst he went on a voyage, but found on his return that the pair had abused his trust. He forgave them both, and gave the lady as wife to his unfaithful friend. 622 837 684 837

Cousin marriages are rare. Brothers and sisters are called by the same term as first cousins, and more distant collateral relatives. All these "brothers" and "sisters," near and remote, are alike *tabu* to each other. There are restrictions, on the whole well observed, but weakening in these latter days, on the most ordinary intercourse between youths and girls so related. More liberty in the matter of cousin marriages is accorded the great chiefly families than to commoners, and a cousin marriage (probably when it does happen a mating of rather distant cousins) amongst the lower orders of society is spoken of as an imitation of the chiefs. In the days when the Tui Tonga chieftainship flourished there was a well established custom for him to take as his principal wife, and the mother of his successor, the daughter of the Tui Haatakalaua, the chief next in rank to the Tui Tonga. At a later period, when the Tui Haatakalaua chieftainship had declined before the growing importance of the Tui Kanokupolu, the daughter of the latter lord used regularly to become the principal wife of the Tui Tonga. This resulted in the cross-cousin marriage of the Tui Tonga to his mother's brother's daughter. 582 601 602 603 393 565 643 581 582

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Examination of genealogies shows that Fotofili, the Tui Haa-Takalaua and half-brother of Ngata, married a daughter of the Tui Tonga, Fatafehi, who was probably an old man at the time of Tasman's visit in 1643, and that Fatafehi also married Fotofili's sister. About the middle of the seventeenth century, or a little earlier, would, therefore, seem to be the date of the commencement of the Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship.

TUI TONGA MARRIAGES.

It has been already remarked that a daughter of the Tui Haa-Takalaua used to be chosen to bear a successor to the Tui Tonga. A few generations after the inauguration of the Tui Kanokupolu a very significant change occurs. The third Tui Kano-kupolu, Mataele Tua-piko, Mataele Crook-back, contracted a marriage with the Tamaha, Tuimala, the highest lady in the land. This marriage was probably both an effect as well as a cause of greatness. It may be dated about 1700, and henceforth the decline of the Tui Haa-Takalaua is manifest, and the mothers of the Tui Tongas are the daughters of the Tui Kano-kupolu. Gradually the decline of the Tui Tonga himself becomes more apparent. Cook was a witness of the great real power exercised by other chiefs, but he saw, too, the homage paid to the Tui Tonga.

DECLINE OF TUI TONGA.

William Mariner, who was in Tonga from 1806 to 1810, relates an instance, not only of disregard of the Tui Tonga's temporal dignity, but of his sacred prestige also.[21]

It is evident that by the close of the eighteenth century there was working the leaven of a rationalism, which recognised, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest. The final catastrophe was hastened and determined by the coming of the European and Christianity, but it is interesting to note that purely native forces were at work, which would probably have led, sooner or later, to revolution.

Finau, whom Cook met, and with whom Mariner lived, belongs to the junior branch of the Ngata tribe. He made good his claim to the sovereignty of Vavau, and bade fair

21. An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, by John Martin, Edinburgh, 1827. Vol. II., chapter II.

19: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

to become the paramount influence in Tongan politics. Ruthless, energetic and ambitious, a notable warrior and leader of men, he failed to established himself in Tongatabu, in spite of successful raids and campaigns.

With the close of the eighteenth century we reach a period whose history has found European chroniclers, and of which the main events and tendencies are well known.

Before going further it will be well to insert a list of the Tui Kano-kupolu:—

1. Ngata c. 1650.
2. Ata-mata-ila.
3. Mataele Tua-piko.
4. Mataele Haamea.
5. Vuna.
6. Maafuaga-tuitonga.
7. Tupou-lahi.
8. Maea-liuaki (1777).
9. Tui-hala-fatai.
10. Tupou-lahi-jii.
11. Mumui (d. 1797).
12. Tukuaho (1797-1800).
13. Mull-ki-haamea (killed in battle 1800).
14. Tupou Moheofo (woman).
15. Maafu-o-limu-loa (not properly of the line, but held the office temporarily).
16. Tupou-malohi.
17. Tupou-toa.
18. Alea-motua (d. 1845).
19. Taufa-ahau (1845-1893). Unga, Fuji-pala (female).
20. George Taufa-ahau II. (1893-1918).
21. Salote Vei-ongo (1918).

It is plain that the descent is not strictly from father to son. The succession was kept within the one family, but the heads of the clan had the power to prevent the title falling into the hands of the young or incapable. At the end of the eighteenth century began a long period of unrest, which effectually prevented dignity remaining with the weak. During this period the tenure of life and office was precarious, and frequently brief. Intermarriages of this line with the Tui Tonga line are common, so that although the title of Tui Tonga is no longer bestowed, yet the blood of the ancient kings flows in full stream in the veins of those who have succeeded them in rule.

It is not my purpose to attempt here any detailed account of the last hundred years. Material dealing with the nineteenth century is fairly abundant and easily accessible. It remains but to indicate briefly the final passing of the kingship to the Tui Kano-kupolu. The consummation of this revolution, of which the germs have been already noted, is intimately connected with the coming of the European and Christianity, and with the life work of a very remarkable man, Taufaahau, baptized George. The nineteenth century

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9a

inherited. In the case of hereditary estates the inheritance descends to the issue of the deceased holder *in infinitum*. Males and females may succeed, but male issue is preferred to female of the same degree. Thus the estate devolves upon the eldest son of the deceased holder in the first instance, and if he dies, to his eldest son; if there is no such son, then to his eldest surviving brother who now carries on the line under the same rules. A person not born in wedlock may not succeed; but for this purpose a person is regarded as legitimate even if he was obviously conceived before the marriage of his parents.

There are similar rules regarding tax allotments. The inheritance descends in the first place to the eldest son of the deceased holder; and if he dies, to his eldest son. If there is no such son, then his eldest surviving brother may succeed. But where there is neither son nor brother to succeed, an unmarried daughter may succeed for her life. If there are several daughters, however, they may succeed jointly for their lives. A female's right to land under these laws may be put aside if she marries or if she is proved in the Land Court to have indulged in sexual intercourse. With both males and females interest in land is never more than a life interest.[16]

3—A Sample Tongan Village and its Lands

The village in which I investigated the operation of this system is situated four miles from the capital town of Nuku'alofa. It is a fairly large village with a population of 653 persons living in 106 households. The village population represents 1.24 per cent of the entire population of Tonga.

The strongest single force binding the members of the village together is their common allegiance to their high chief who is also the high chief of a number of other nearby villages. He is recognized as having the authority to call upon every household in the village to supply gifts of yams and pigs, mats and *tapa* cloth, whenever the need arises for such accumulations to be made, such as on the marriage or death of a member of Royalty or of the nobility. Although there are no specified occasions for the presentation of first fruits to him by the villagers, and he does not call for any, particular households do occasionally perform the service voluntarily in recognition of his position.[17] Apart from the political aspect of such position, it has also a very important economic aspect: the estate from which individual tax allotments are granted to members of the village are his hereditary *tofia*. Tax allotments are regarded as being held from him, and this exercises a powerful influence in upholding his authority and strengthening his position in relation to the whole village.

There is also a Town Officer, who is appointed by the Government to be its representative within the village and through whom it makes

[16] A person who succeeds to the title to land in this context holds the land for himself. He may permit others, including his brothers, to derive sustenance from it, but this gives them no right of their own to it.

[17] See in this connection Beaglehole 1941:19.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

Regarding 24 instances of virilocal marriage the following table shows the place from where the wife came.

TABLE 5 — WIFE'S NATIVE PLACE

Tongatapu	18	Fua'amotu	2
Talafo'ou	4	Ha'apai	2
Mu'a	4	Nakolo	1
Vava'u	4	Tofoa	1
Nuku'alofa	2	Ha'alalo	1
Folaha	2	Houma	1

Eight wives came from very near villages, Talafo'ou and Mu'a. For the villagers love seems to be a natural and strong motivation for marriage. As if to testify this, many wives are chosen from neighbouring areas. There are chances for young men to fall in love with girls from other islands who come to visit their relations in this village or vice versa. Generaly speaking, the wives have come from near villages in the marriage of virilocal residence, while in uxorilocal residence, the husbands are from far isolated islands.

III KINSHIP ORGANISATION

Famili and Kainga

E. W. Gifford reported in his Tongan Society that "there exist today in Tonga a number of named lineages called *ha'a*."[11] but, *ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries. An old man told me that *ha'a* may be organised in the *eiki*, chief class, but not among the commoners.

Instead of *ha'a*, the term for kin group, *famili* is most commonly and *kainga* is much less commonly used.[12] The word *fa'ahinga* for kin group is seldom used. An informant explained that the original meaning of *fa'ahinga* is 'kind'. Some villagers think that *famili* and *kainga* indicate just the same social kin group, while other do not. The extension of *famili* and *kainga* is variously told as follows.

Man A: *Famili* includes grandparents, parents(including father's brother, mother's sister), father's sister, mother's brother, ego's brothers with their wives and children, sisters with their husbands and children, ego's children and grandchildren. *Famili* means one's near relations and *kainga* one's remote relations. Wife's parents and her siblings are not included even in *kainga*.

Man B: *Famili* members are paternal grandparents, parents (including father's brother in the village), siblings (including father's brother's children), children, grandchildren, and one's own wife. The spouses of siblings and their children are the members of *kainga*. Maternal grandparents who live in another village may be included in *kainga*. This would not change even if they happened to live in ego's village, though he does not know for certain. The parents and siblings of one's wife are also in the *kainga*.

11. Gifford 1929: 29 33.
12. For example, *kou'eiki mo kainga* (often equivalent to ladies and gentlemen or you in public speaking) is still used in daily life.

in Tongan history. The foundation of the *ha'a* system, therefore, is a geneological charter that establishes claims to high rank based on geneological proximity to the descent line of the sacred kings of Tonga. The system is centred around a type of formal ceremony—the *taumafa kava* or kava-drinking ceremony—whose primary function is to demonstrate the relative rank of the chiefly titles. As Gifford says: "the formal drinking of kava has perhaps its most important social aspect in the visualisation of the rank of the participants through the seating and through the order of serving."[16] In giving expression to rank, the ceremony serves to affirm not only the high rank of the participants, but also that of other persons who are closely associated with the titles.

An assertion of *ha'a* membership is by its nature also a claim to high rank in Tongan society. It is worth asserting membership, since high rank confers certain privileges. In modern Tonga, these privileges have relatively little material component for those who are not incumbents of noble titles or their closest relatives, but a person of high rank will always get a better place at a feast than a person of lower rank, and high rank is still good for deference in Tongan society.

Ha'a membership comprises the incumbent titleholders and those male and female descendants of former incumbents who have a claim to geneological seniority. Seniority and membership, however, are not reckoned in the male line only, for affiliation with a *ha'a* is "optative";[17] that is, there is choice in affiliation as regards membership, through male or female. The greater emphasis, however, is on descent in the male line, especially with regard to succession to a title when, all things being equal, a titleholder is succeeded by the eldest of his legitimate sons. While membership in a *ha'a* implies high rank, the personal rank associated with a title is a varying quantity. In Tonga, an individual's rank is based on that of both his mother and his father; thus, the personal rank of the holder of a particular title is not constant from one generation to the next.[18] According to one view of marriage among Tongan aristocrats, "increasing the rank of one's descendants was the ultimate goal";[19] a new titleholder might well bring to the title the added prestige of high maternal rank. Among those not heirs to a title, a person whose mother is of higher rank than his father might have a claim to higher rank in the *ha'a* of his mother than in that of his father, and in such a case might assert his membership in his mother's *ha'a* rather than his father's. Other persons might completely drop out of the *ha'a* system because their claim to rank is no longer worth asserting, for persons of relatively low rank have no place in the system although their kin ties to individuals of high rank are recognised in other contexts.[20] The point is not only

16. Gifford 1929:157.
17. Firth 1957.
18. Bott gives a full analysis of the relationship between traditional titles, political power and personal rank.
19. Bott 1972:219.
20. This is a point where the modern situation may be different from the traditional in that today there is relatively little connection between *ha'a* affiliation and access to land, which may not have been the case in earlier times.

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

often result in conflicts and accusations over the fulfillment of one's duties (in terms of either rights or obligations) as a kinsman.

Objectively, there are limits to individual manipulation, since one 'who has made it' in a modern sector may not want to alienate his siblings by defining them out of the category covering effective economic transaction (the *famili* or family estate), and will thus settle on a less extreme strategy whereby he will fulfill obligations for his higher ranking kinsmen, but will also try to minimize the financially burdensome consequences of these obligations without alienating his siblings. The potential and real conflicts between individual and collective interests considerably complicate any attempt to provide a neat analytical model of the family estate. It should be noted, however, that although I found evidence of such conflicts, I found in general a remarkable congruity in the operation of the family estates for which I could gather data. Perhaps the degree of support provided by kinsmen in modern sectors to kinsmen in traditional sectors seems generous and significant to recipient villagers (as in the case of the provision of materials for building a European-style house), but not too burdensome to their donor kinsmen in a modern sector within Tonga or abroad.

A final important index of individual strategies within family estates is the treatment of sisters by brothers. In any sibling group, sisters have higher prestige status than brothers. In terms of material support, the obligations of brothers to sisters may have an important influence on the individual social and economic development of brothers, especially with regard to decisions about marriage. I noted cases of several men who never married or married quite late (after the age of 35). Explanations for this phenomenon often contained a quite explicit recognition that as a brother, one is obligated to actively support his sisters and their children indefinitely. Of course, not all brothers were quite so selfless since marriage is certainly the statistical norm in Tongan society. Some married brothers continued to actively support their sisters, married and unmarried; others responded only to requests from sisters for support; while still others claimed that their active material obligations of support to their sisters effectively ceased when their sisters married — then support, except on special occasions, became the responsibility of the husbands. The preceding discussions reveal that although channels of support are well defined by the organization of rank in the family estate, there is still much room for individual manipulation based upon the subtle ways that traditional rights and obligations can be interpreted and perceived in practice.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd together (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd) by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1] some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger, well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out & stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long, the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet; the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff[t] sizes & will carry from 30 to 70 people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout. The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made of rough fish skin. . . .

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are binding, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms, as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we endeavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate, that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her displeasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff[t] Islands have different religions.[1]

They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul: they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast[g] place to be on this Globe, shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance, upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up. . . .

TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 1000–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt[n] Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

[1] Different gods, rather.
[2] Orua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu. [3] Hikuleo.

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

came from the sky or from a foreign land, usually Samoa. Associated with a title are the title holder, his descendants, and descendants of former holders of that title. This group is known as a *ha'a*. *Ha'a* ranking must be distinguished from the chief-commoner division of the society, for chiefs and commoners alike can trace their relationship to a *ha'a*. To understand this kind of rank it is necessary to understand the ranking of *ha'a* titles and the historical events that led to *ha'a* fission.

According to Tongan tradition,[13] the first Tu'i Tonga of the present dynasty was born after the god Tangaloa 'Eitumatupu'a climbed down from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The child of this union was 'Aho'eitu. When 'Aho'eitu was old enough he went to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial inhabitants who became his *matāpule*. 'Aho'eitu, half-man and half-god, lived over a thousand years ago (about A.D. 950), and from him the present king descends from a collateral line. The succeeding Tu'i Tonga who descended from 'Aho'eitu were born of the daughters of the highest chiefs in the land. Several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated, and in about the fifteenth century the incumbent Tu'i Tonga appointed a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The first Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was a younger brother of the twenty-fourth Tu'i Tonga (see Figure 2). The Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was given only temporal power, while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.

The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. All three lines descended from 'Aho'eitu and were further linked by marriage.

Eventually the second line lost in status as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu grew. Rivalries among chiefs brought on a series of civil wars. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Tāufa'āhau, was baptised in the Wesleyan Church in 1831 as Siaosi (George) Tupou I, and his wife as Sālote (Charlotte). As Christianity spread, the traditional spiritual power of the Tu'i Tonga was undermined, and he too became a Christian, but joined the Catholic Church. Finally, in the last civil war in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu defeated the Tu'i Tonga, and George I became the supreme ruler in Tonga. Under his ægis, Wesleyanism became in effect a state religion. The last Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was slain in battle by the Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1799, and the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

The story does not end here. The office holders of the two higher lines were gone; their descendants, however, lived on, and their *ha'a* rank was higher than that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. To solve this dilemma, the ranking descendants of the two lines were appointed to new chiefly titles—Kalanivalu (Kalaniuvalu) and Tungi respectively. There has been frequent intermarriage among the three lines to elevate the "blood" or class rank of Tu'i Kanokupolu. Thus the present King, Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV, is of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua line through his father, the Tu'i Kanokupolu line through his mother's father, and the Tu'i Tonga line through his mother's

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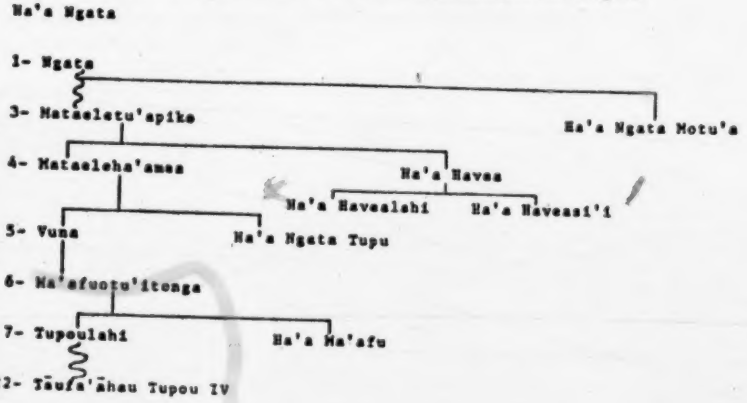
Havealahi (*lahi*-large) and Ha'a Haveasi'i (*si'i*-small). Ha'a Ngata Tupu segmented at the time of the fourth Tu'i Kanokupolu. The final major *ha'a* to segment was Ha'a Ma'afu, which descends from the sixth Tu'i Kanokupolu. The segmentation of the Ha'a Ngata is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Segmentation and Internal Ranking of Ha'a Ngata



HA'A TODAY

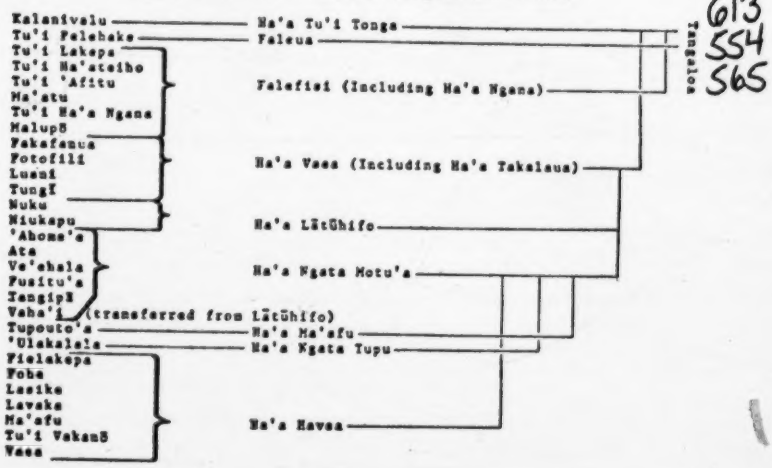
The foregoing are the main *ha'a* which exist in Tonga today, and each has a specific rank. Several chiefs may belong to each *ha'a*, each being the head of a smaller societal division which originated by segmentation from the main *ha'a*. From the Tongan point of view those enumerated above are the important *ha'a*, for they are the ones that are recognized in speech preludes (*fakatapu*) given at kava ceremonies on the societal level.

The *ha'a* affiliations of present-day nobles can be seen in Figure 4. The King, although he is the ranking member of the Ha'a Ngata, is usually distinguished in speech preludes as Ha'a Moheofo. This term originally referred to the societal division which gave wives to the Tu'i Tonga. At one time this was Ha'a Takalaua, but it now refers to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Intermarriage of the three main *ha'a* has elevated the blood ties of the line of the Tu'i Kanokupolu, even though his *ha'a* affiliation is only with the Kauhalalalo. Those *ha'a* which are not subservient to the Tu'i Kanokupolu in societal (*ha'a*) ranking are allied by close blood ties, and obligations that come from *kāinga* status can be activated so that the Tu'i Kanokupolu is highest on all accounts.

A Tu'i Kanokupolu's son had lower *kāinga* status than his sister. The social repercussions that might result in suceeding generations could be prevented by cross-cousin marriage (or by marrying a foreigner, as in the Tu'i Tonga line). An example of such a cross-cousin marriage can be found in the ancestors of the present king (Figure 5).[25] This was a strategic

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

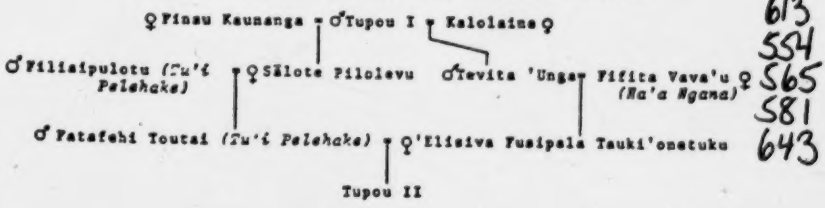
Figure 4: Ha'a Affiliation of Tongan Noble Titles



move because the descendants of Tevita 'Unga could be outranked by the descendants of his sister Sālote if married to someone of a higher ranking *ha'a*. By the marriage of the children of Tevita and Sālote no one within the Tu'i Kanokupolu line could outrank the offspring of this union. Tupou II married Lavinia of the Tu'i Tonga line, and their daughter, Sālote, who became Tupou III, thus combined the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines. Tupou III married the highest chief of Ha'a Takalaua, so that Tupou IV combines all three important lines. Tupou IV has married Mata'aho, who descends through her mother from the Tu'i Tonga line, and their children are now the ranking individuals of all of the three main *ha'a*.

Today, although the myth of *ha'a* fission sanctions *ha'a* rank and holds the system together, title holders of the various *ha'a* are not necessarily conscripted simply by being born to the title through primogeniture and patrilineal descent. Also, people associated with *ha'a* are not necessarily related by close blood ties to the title holder of the *ha'a*. For example, the

Figure 5: Cross-cousin Marriage in the Genealogy of Tupou



59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

all. And much less, an internal stratified system as the result of ramification (ramage type according to M. Sahlins) can not be possibly found in this village. Supposing the ramage type to exist here in this village, all the villagers should be integrated into a triangle of hierarchy, the top of which is occupied by Leka. Actually Leka is in the highest rank of the villagers but except for his position it does not seem that people are internally stratified.

This illustrates precisely how the existing situation can be clouded by a failure to distinguish societal ranking from social status, failure to understand that a different kind of rank operates within them, failure to delineate how these systems are subdivided and ranked in relation to specific activities, and failure to understand how the systems can be manipulated.

Aoyagi seems to imply that village structure is, or should be, a microcosm of the societal structure. In Tonga, at least, this is not the case. *Ha'a* are part of the societal structure and have little to do with villages, and not all villages have men of title. No doubt "ramages" did not exist in Aoyagi's village, since "ramages" (*ha'a*) can only be conceptualized in terms of the whole society and would make no sense at all in terms of a single village. But that *ha'a* do exist as societal groupings is undeniable. The whole traditional government is predicated on them, and one can observe them in operation in a royal kava ceremony. Village structure in Tonga today is a Western overlay rather than part of the traditional system. Traditionally the people did not live in villages, the usual pattern being one of dispersed settlement (Maude 1965: 27). The positions of *ofisa kolo* (town officer) and *pule fakavahe* (district officer) are appendages of a central administrative system that is concerned mainly with health, sanitation, and taxes.

Power and prestige are still functions of the traditional sociopolitical system based on *ha'a* affiliation and the class division that separates chiefs from commoners. Education is a new force, but those educated men who succeed usually do so by manipulating the traditional system to their advantage, e.g., by marrying the daughters of high-ranking chiefs. The society as a whole is still kinship oriented, and the principles of *kāinga* rank are acknowledged on even the most important societal occasions.

During the recent coronation kava ceremony, a large pig was brought to the front of the kava circle and divided, ostensibly to be eaten by the chiefs and *mātapule* in the kava circle, but actually to be ritually taken away from each of the individual participants by a person of higher rank. This visually acknowledged the social fact that rank operates in more than one dimension, one set of principles being used on the societal level while a different set was operating within the *kāinga*. On this particular occasion all the *ha'a* were represented, and their relative rank and association with other *ha'a* were shown by the order in which their members were served and the position in which they were seated (*ha'a* ranking). Some of the title holders of the low-ranking *ha'a* are higher in class rank than the title holders of some of the high-ranking *ha'a*, but in this case *ha'a* rank takes precedence.[28] The persons who took away the portions of the pig had higher status within their *kāinga* than these highest societal ranking people.

Tonga has an internally stratified system and is very conscious of rank at

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

9. Men and women form separate kava circles to avoid *tuofefine* ("sisters") and *tuonga'ane* ("brothers") being in the same circle, which would considerably restrict the topics of conversation.
10. For example, if a man's eldest sister is not available, any sister can play the required role.
11. This innovation has tended to complicate rank even further by introducing a kind of "estate system," in which the organizing principle is land tenure and land rights.
12. Most commoners say that they do not belong to a *ha'a;* however, they can often trace their relationship to a chief and know to which *ha'a* he belongs. This may be because Tongans are usually quite modest, not claiming *ha'a* membership because "such things are affairs of the chiefs."
13. This version was given on a school radio broadcast in 1966, and is common knowledge among most Tongan adults.
14. The names of the two divisions refer to their original geographical placement. The Kauhala'uta lived on the inland (*'uta*) side of the road, while the Kauhalalalo lived on the lower or ocean side of the road, in order to protect the Tu'i Tonga and his people. The data presented in this section are mainly from the Honorable Ve'ehala, a chief of Ha'a Ngata Motu'a; Sister Augustino, a descendant of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line; and a book of genealogies belonging to the present-day descendant of the Tu'i Tonga line.
15. See Figure 1.
16. At one of the last society-wide events which included dances (the coronation of the present king on July 4, 1967) the Tu'i Ha'ateiho's village did dance at the *mala'e* of the Tu'i Tonga. They were not, however, dancing for the descendant of the Tu'i Tonga, but for the Fijians who were guests at his home for the coronation, and the Tu'i Ha'ateiho was thus activating his Fijian relationships. Most of the villagers dancing did not know why they were dancing at the home of the Tu'i Tonga, only that they should not be doing so. In this case it was necessary not only to have the participants' point of view but also the societal point of view in order to understand the formal significance of this dance presentation.
17. The Falefa were the original *mātapule* (ceremonial attendants) and, because of their celestial origin, form a separate class. Later *mātapule* were recruited from the *tu'a* (commoners) or brought from Samoa.
18. Ha'a Ngana, which includes Tu'i Ha'a Ngana and Malupō, originated by segmentation from the twentieth Tu'i Tonga as shown here. Today, however, they are included in Falefisi. Note that the origin of Ha'a Ngana and Fale Fisi presented here differs considerably from Gifford (1929: 34). However, Gifford (1929: 39), is not consistent.
19. Note that the present King and his brother are heads not only of two different *ha'a* but of *ha'a* in two different divisions, demonstrating that societal inheritance is not simply by patrilineal descent, or even close blood relationship, and that *ha'a* are not lineages by the usual definition.
20. See Figure 2.
21. According to my informants, Nuku was the younger brother of the 6th Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, not his "son," as Gifford (1929: 36) states.
22. The name originated on an occasion when the three of them were wrapped in a mat and resembled one man with three heads.
23. Kanokupolu is the name of a village on the western end of Tongatapu. The word itself means "flesh of Upolu," which refers to the tradition that the mother of Ngata was from Upolu, Samoa.
24. The title Tungi is presently vacant; the last Tungi is now King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV.
25. Cross-cousin marriage (*kite tama*) was not prescribed, proscribed, or preferred, but was occasionally practiced among the highest chiefs to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line. The traditional incest rules seem to have been that one could marry his third cousin (*mokopuna tolu*), and cross-cousin marriage was not a perceived alternate in choosing a mate. Rather, cross-cousin

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

marriage was a function of rank and a political move to prevent the interference of *kāinga* status principles at the societal level, and to assure that the offspring would have the highest possible rank within a certain line.

26. A chief's "people" are called his *kāinga*, even though they are not related to him by traceable blood ties.

27. In discussions about rank Tongans often use a statement such as "X must be lower than Y because he cooked at Z's funeral."

28. For example, Tuita operated on this occasion as a *mātapule*, even though he outranks many of the chiefs in class ranking.

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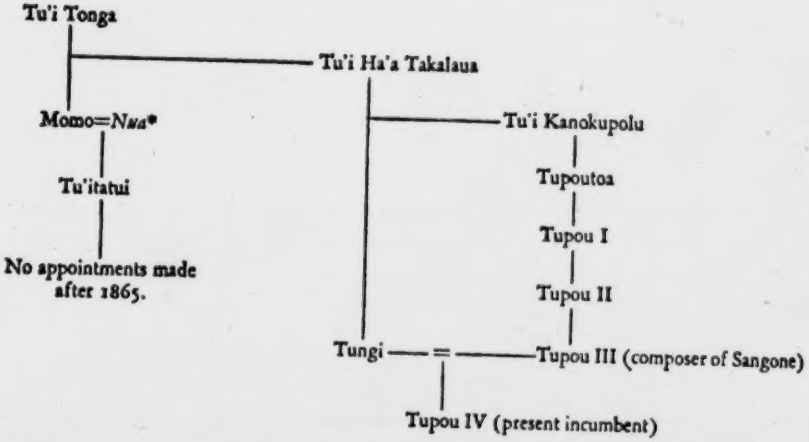
539 symbol for the Tu'i Kanokupolu, emphasizes the shift in reference from the Tu'i Tongas concerned in Sangone's story to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Line 46 possibly refers to a branch to satisfy Lafaipana's request for a perch for his pigeon.

539 In the Tongan view of the world the biggest fish inhabit the deepest part of the ocean. Deep-sea fish (*'ika moana*) are thus the biggest fish, and in Stanza 10 sig-
643 nify the Tu'i Kanokupolu chiefs and their rise in power and rank even though they
[554] were only the third line of kings, the Tu'i Tonga and Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua lines being of higher rank (see diagram). The poetry tells us that their rise started

643 THREE LINES OF TONGAN KINGS



* Nua was also the mother of Fasi'apule by Ngongo Kilitoto, thus Tu'itatui and Fasi'apule are half brothers.

539 643 from Fonuamotu, the residence of, and thus the symbol of, the first Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, who was the son of a Tu'i Tonga. The Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua line of temporal rulers gave rise to the Tu'i Kanokupolu line, which eventually overshadowed
539 the other two lines by force of arms. This made them more powerful but did not
643 give them higher rank. They did gain higher rank, however, in the only way pos-
554 sible, which is by marrying a woman of exalted rank. Specifically, a chief of the
581 Tu'i Kanokupolu line married a woman with the title Tamaha, the Tu'i Tonga's sister's daughter, who is the person of highest rank in the kingdom. Thus, by the intermarriage of the two lines, the Tu'i Kanokupolu and Tu'i Tonga blood lines became equally exalted as they are today.

539 The poet is saying, then, that the Tu'i Kanokupolu line began its rise with the
643 division of power into spiritual (Tu'i Tonga) and temporal (Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua) lines. Hakau-tapu in Line 49 is the sacred reef for bonito fishing for the Tu'i—originally for the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua, but later for the Tu'i Kanokupolu—and refers to the fact that the privileges of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua were transferred to the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Finally the Tu'i Kanokupolu became the supreme ruler, symbolized in the poetry as being tied to the sacred *koka* tree, a tree traditionally used

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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adoption was a transaction between high ranking individuals of the various *ha'a*.

The political aspects of adoption were not lost to the European observers of nineteenth century Tonga. One individual wrote that it was the "fashion" in Tonga

> for mothers to make presents of their children to particular friends, by way of binding the ties of friendship more closely; there is a sound policy in this, as it unites the great chiefs in different districts together; for Fatua, has Tubou's daughter, and if I mistake not, Ata has Fatu or Tubou's son (Bays 1831:135).

This description indicates connections between Fatu, a non-titled *'eiki* chief of the *Ha'a Takalaua*, the titled *'eiki Ata* of the *Ha'a Ngata Motu'a*, and the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* Aleamotu'a, also known Jiosaia Tupou.[5]

The Wesleyan missionary William Cross (in the archipelago from 1827 to 1833 and again from 1834 to 1835) wrote how a six year old boy, natural son of a *matapule* (a titled non-*'eiki* individual) had died in 1830. Cross wrote how the child "had become a great personage, being the adopted son of Fatu, the chief of Mua" (W. Cross *Journal* entry of October 4, 1830). This description is probably one of *ohi* since Fatu of Mu'a did have sufficient prestige and personal rank to make a child a "great personage" by means of adoption. It could, perhaps, be interpreted as being an instance of *pusiaki* but it is doubtful, since the child would have had the rank of it's own *matapule* father. Instead, the child's prestige and rank was due to his adoption by Fatu of Mu'a.

In aboriginal Tonga, when the population of the archipelago was considerably less than it is today, adoption transactions (along with arranged marriages) were a key part to the overall maintenance of the archipelago by the Tongan chiefs. These aspects of the political purposes of adoption were merely hinted at by Sahlins when he wrote of realignments between "corporate descent groups" which resulted from adoption (1958: pp. 157-158). Likewise, Goldman has barely pointed out the political ramifications of adoptees being introduced into the line of succession (1970:435).

Part of the problem of interpreting aboriginal adoption patterns (and numerous other aspects of aboriginal Tongan activities) are the erroneous projections into the past based solely on twentieth century field work without incorporating nineteenth century eyewitness accounts. Thus Gifford nearly described the exact aspect of Tongan transactions between kinspeople for adoption and not-adoption situations when he wrote that "adoption may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality" (1929:26). Unfortunately, however, Gifford was "collapsing" everything from *tauhi* to *ngaahi* to *fakahingoa* to *pusiaki* and *ohi* under the one rubric "adoption." Likewise, the Beagleholes

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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597 553 557 565 581 depending on the rank of the namer). An adoption had to involve changes in rank and changes in residence. *Olu* transactions, or adoptions in aboriginal Tonga, were transactions between high-ranking individuals. Adoptions and arranged marriages between high ranking individuals played an important part in maintaining the overall stability of the island group.

Titles

597 554 428 178 What is important to stress for aboriginal Tonga, as opposed to post-1875 Tonga, is the very important fact that *olu* transactions which involved titles lasted only for one generation. In aboriginal Tonga, when an adoption took place which involved the adoptee receiving a *hingoa*, or "title," from the adopting parent, that adopted-titled-individual could not transmit that title to his own biological (or adopted) child. The title which the adopted child eventually received would have to revert back to someone in the original line of descent in the *ha'a*.[9]

554 613 In aboriginal Tonga, titles were given to important individuals (male and female) of the corporate land holding descent group, or *ha'a*. The title was given as a specific form of recognition for the individual. When the individual Ngata received his title of *Tu'i Kanokupolu*, he gave his son Leilua the title *Ve'ehala*. Leilua was thus the first *Ve'ehala*, and *Ve'ehala* is roughly translated as the "wrong footed man." With the title *Ve'ehala* there is associated a specific area of land. It is the title of a man which was transmitted to another individual after a title-holder died (or when a title-holder was unable to perform the duties associated with the title).

554 428 When a man could no longer hold a title, the title would not necessarily go to the oldest natural (or adopted) son of the man; the title could be given to a brother of the deceased (or incapacitated) title-holder, the title could be given to a child of the sister of the deceased title-holder, or the title could be given to an adopted son of the deceased title-holder. In aboriginal Tonga, succession to titles depended on several factors, and the decision to pass the title on was a joint decision of the *ha'a*. A prospective title-holder had to be of proper age, had to have the ability to handle the affairs associated with the title, had to have the support of the people to aid him, and had to have the proper rank to accompany the title.

571 565 554 The Wesleyan missionary John Thomas wrote in his journal on one occasion that "there is a union amongst the Tonga people, especially the chiefs, so that they consult each other before they determine anything" (J. Thomas *Journal* entry of February 11, 1826). The titled individual known as the *Tu'i Kanokupolu* had to be supported by the various *ha'a* of Tonga to received the title. Thomas recorded how one individual had given up the "lotoo" or Wesleyan religion

63: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1974
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"with parental affection" (1810:111), or Mariner, who reported that Finau Ulukalala was considered to be his own "father and protector" (1817:I: p.90 and p. 310). A later paper is planned.

8. Adoptions and arranged marriages for political reasons had always existed in the indigenous system and with the arrival of the Wesleyan missionaries this did not change. The missionaries knew about the arranged marriages but they could not do anything to stop them (or would not do anything to stop them) for they were too much a part of Tongan life. One missionary, on a visit in 1850 (he had also been in the archipelago from 1822-1823) wrote that such "state unions" were made "merely to promote caste" and that this was a "thing which ought to be destroyed" (W. Lawry *Journal* entry of June 15, 1850), but it was not.
9. Additional research might reveal further forms of aboriginal adoption transactions. Collocott refers to Tungimana'ia as being "fakatakatuu" to a particular *Tu'i Ha'ateiho* (Collocott n.d. p. 258) or *fakatakaua* which is "like or pertaining to a constant companion" (Churchward 1959:102). The record suggests that this may have been a "more intense" form of *ohi* since a son of an adopted son succeeded to a title – that is, the title did not revert as in an *ohi* transaction (compare Gifford [1929:137]). Companionship, group membership, or group enlargement, are all subject to further research and debate in the context of adoption and the *ha'a*.
10. Unfortunately, this important distinction of pre-1875 Tonga and post-1875 is often overlooked in the literature (see, for example, Kaeppler 1971). For specific statements on changes in rank and status acquisition procedures due to the Constitution of 1875 see Urbanowicz (1973/74).
11. The Constitution also resulted in other problems concerning titles: prior to the Constitution no man could hold more than one title, since the title holder was responsible to (and for) a particular group of people; now, as a result of the Constitution, there are men holding two titles. Most notable of these is the Honorable *Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili*. (The double title of *Ulukalala-Ata* is currently vacant). What the holding of double titles means is that a further gulf has been injected into the relationship between titled and non-titled individuals. A person with two titles has to divide his time (and obligations) between two different groups of people. This would not have been so prior to 1875.

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592 597 dent families or individuals. The last phase is the declining household with no or few children present and an increasing reliance upon other households for subsistence needs.

By using adopting mothers' ages as a rough indicator, it was found that adoptions tend to cluster at two points in the household phase, and the adopting mothers averaged about thirty-six years of age. The second cluster occurs in the declining household phase with adopting mothers having an average age of about sixty-four (See Table 9).

597 591 885 [581] The motivations for young family adoptions are closely connected with achieving adult status. For Tongans, marriage is not a final step in attaining adult status. Many young couples begin married life by taking up residence with consanguines of either the bride or the groom. During the next few months or years the couple remains dependent on the household head and his wife. How long this period of dependency lasts [602] depends on several factors including the husband's success at finding land or a wage-labor job, how friendly the relationship with the host family remains, and the grouwth of the new family. This period often ends at about the time the first child is born, by the couple establishing a separate household. Although recognition as an adult does not 597 885 851 come abruptly, bearing a child and assuming the responsibility for its care is an important step. Because of the importance of having and caring for children in attaining adult status, young couples usually become prospective adopters if they are unable to have children of their own.

[See p. 62--Analyst]

597 young woman just starting or in the midst of her childbearing years. Or tama could also be a man with a young wife. The same would hold true for other dyads with cross-generation principals like 'BC'-'FZ'. Given the adoptees are usually less than two years of age it would not he expected that middle-aged or old women would be donating adoptees to adopting parents.

Concerning Conscious Models

121 Conscious models in general reflect patterns of behavior with varying degrees of accuracy. To illustrate this assertion, I will compare two conscious models--the Tongan model of marriage with the Tongan model of kinship reciprocity. The model of marriage or at least certain aspects of it are followed closely in terms of behavior. For instance, the marriage model contains these principles: Two people cannot marry if they are kinsmen; a marriage must be condoned by both the groom's parents and the bride's parents; the marriage must be legally recognized and given religious approval by the church. Some of these principles are disregarded under penalty of law, i.e., it is illegal for persons to live together as man and wife if they are kinsmen or if their marriage has not been registered by the government. Further punishment is provided by the fact that children born of an unregistered marriage are illegitimate and, therefore, ineligible to inherit.

If parents disapprove of the marriage or if the marriage is not recognized by the church, the couple probably would be subjected to strong social sanction in the form of gossip or even social ostracism

565 The basic characteristic of Tongan society is the presence of ranked strata with each stratum havingan increasing amount of access to social prestige and economic resources as one moves from the lower to the higher strata. Membership in a stratum is ascribed by birth; one is born as a commoner (tu'a), chief's assistant (matāpule), a chief or noble ('eiki), or a king (tu'i). Individual movement between strata is nearly impossible except that occasionally a commoner may be advanced 565 to the position of chief's assistant. If one marries outside his or 682 her social stratum, it does not alter his or her position. Such marriages are discouraged, particularly if one of noble birth should wish to marry someone of lower rank.

178 Tongan society is still very much a kinship-oriented society and 181 attitudes and behavior evident at much life crisis events as births, first birthdays, circumcisions, marriages and deaths reflect the traditional orientation of Tongans. Traditional values and beliefs are also reflected by reliance upon native medical practices and the continuance of belief in ghosts, spirits, and spirit possessions.

75 The traditional exists side by side with the modern. For instance, 177 modern medical care is usually readily available and readily accepted; 178 traditional and modern medicine are conceived of as being complimentary 181 rather than contradictory. The Tongan concept of social interaction seems to have been the most resilient aspect of their culture and two centuries of contact with the Western world have changed it little.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5. (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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It was forbidden for any women to remain indolent, and they were not to be assisted or fed since 'Our assisting the indolent is supporting that which is an evil'.[3]

Sanctity of marriage was again an important feature of the 1850 Code in which Article VII declared marriage to be a covenant which could not be broken during the lifetime of either spouse.

The missionaries made no compromise regarding polygamy. Giving up all but one wife was made one of the conditions of acceptance into membership of the Church. 'I told the people', wrote Thomas (Journal, 30 Mar. 1831), 'of many of their sins particularly of the sin of Polegemy. I exhorted them to put away their wives and keep one only and the Lord will then receive them into his family'. This attitude is reflected in Article VII: 3 which made it unlawful for anyone to have more than one spouse.

Dancing was a popular entertainment among Tongans. It was mainly held at night time, and usually went on until the small hours of the morning. The excitement naturally whetted the sexual appetite, and couples would melt into the darkness. This was, of course, horrifying to the eyes of the missionaries who, like all Evangelicals, viewed dancing with disgust, as a great enticement to sin. Another reason for the missionaries' disapproval of dancing was the fact that it was often performed in association with the old religious ceremonies. Their views were expressed in Clause XI which forbade dancing and heathen customs with a penalty of one month's hard labour for the first offence and two months for further offences.

The puritanical views on modesty, which the Wesleyan missionaries held, made it imperative for adequate and proper clothing to be worn in public by the new converts. 'To dress otherwise, leaving the body healthy and glad in the sunshine and fresh air

[3] Knowing the privileged position women occupied in Tongan society, Neill could not understand this seemingly extraordinary law. 'It is the husband', he wrote, 'who was, and still is, the working partner and breadwinner in the Tongan home' (Neill 1955:98). It may be pointed out, however, that women had the responsibility of making the *ngatu* (tapa cloth) mats and so on, which were needed in the home, and this was the work to which the clause referred.

81: Bott E,P-4,5 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

did not hold titles or political power. Some titleholders were of high rank, some of low rank. Some powerful leaders were of high rank, others of low rank.

The discrepancy between rank and political power was incorporated into the traditional political hierarchy. The sacred king, the Tu'i Tonga, held the most senior title and was of very high personal rank; only his sisters and their children were of higher personal rank. But his political power was very limited. Secular authority was wielded by a second king, the Tu'i Kanokupolu, which is the title of the present ruling line. The Tu'i Kanokupolu title was genealogically junior to that of the Tu'i Tonga, and the individual incumbents of the Tu'i Kanokupolu title were of much lower personal rank than the sacred king, but their political power was much greater. They were supposed to rule the kingdom on behalf of the Tu'i Tonga. The recurrent practice of a particular type of marriage between the two royal houses ensured that the sacred king continued to be of higher personal rank than the secular king; personal kinship ties thus reinforced the relationship between the titles.

In the traditional system the object of the social and political game was to use one's standing in one system to increase one's standing in the others, marriage being one of the main devices for doing so. The process took several generations. Increasing the rank of one's descendants was the ultimate goal, but it was unwise in the long run to concentrate on rank alone. The disappearance of the former sacred kingship is a case in point. The kava ceremony provided a snapshot of the process; it showed where the manœuvring for position had got to at any particular moment, at least as far as the system of formal titles was concerned.

In the modern social and political system the principle of independent but overlapping dimensions of stratification has been retained, though the content has changed. The system of personal rank continues unaltered. Education, however, has supplanted the old system of power and unofficial political leadership. Education is the new pathway to political authority and to higher rank for one's descendants.

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

official sense became formally recognized as title-holding combined with land-holding (the post-Constitutional equivalent of chiefly authority). But what of the mystique of *sino'i 'eiki*, which alone was the defining criterion in old Tonga of aristocratic status?

With the death of the incumbent Tu'i Tonga in 1865, the office of Tu'i Tonga became defunct. A son of the last Tu'i Tonga, who was a sororal nephew of the new King, Tupou I, was appointed to the nobility with the title of Kalaniuvalu. The line of Kalaniuvalu was to represent permanently the old Tu'i Tonga line within the nobility of the new order. Through later strategic marriages, the Tupou dynasty has assimilated a number of connections with the direct blood descent line of the defunct Tu'i Tonga, the pinnacle from which aristocratic honour was derived in the old order. The tendency since the Constitution, then, has been a shift in the aristocratic mystique of deriving *sino'i 'eiki* status from close kinship with the Tu'i Tonga to deriving such status from close connection by blood with the present ruling line.

Few present nobles qualify as aristocrats, determined by their close kinship with the Royal Family. The non- *sino'i 'eiki* nobility might be termed gentry, for primarily it is their legal, landed status and title-holding which mark them as different from anybody else.[6] Whether or not they can assert their authority over the people resident on their estates in the style of old chiefs varies from case to case. Furthermore, there are many individuals in Tonga, without noble title and thus technically commoners, who either directly descend from the last Tu'i Tonga or are close kin of the Royal Family and are thus *sino'i 'eiki* or of aristocratic chiefly status. Such untitled individuals are in a sense of higher status than gentry noble title-holders.

Since the giving of the Constitution, the noble title system has been streamlined and consolidated, partially the result of royal policy of the Tupou dynasty and partially a matter of circumstance. Structurally, three trends are evident. Firstly, the monarchs have tended to cultivate certain noble titles and to integrate them by intermarriage to the royal blood line. These titleholders

[6] Aside from possession of estates, which are a source of potential wealth, despite the legal restraints on the noble's control of his land, special access to parliamentary participation is the other major legally-defined privilege of the nobility. The Legislative Assembly consists of 7 Noble Representatives, elected triannually among themselves and apportioned regionally, and 7 People's Representatives, elected triannually among the general population and apportioned regionally. In the past, the Legislative Assembly has been a weak institution, submissive to the will of the executive, but recently, it has become a more lively arm of government, as members are more vocal and independent in their statements of opinion concerning proposals presented to them and in placing motions. Although the nobility has no formally defined rights to participate in the executive bodies of Cabinet and Privy Council, monarchs in the past have typically appointed noble title-holders to high government positions. Noble title-holders have not typically been employed as civil servants, but the nobility has enjoyed special channels of influence in securing sought-after employment in the government for kin, friends, and clients. Since the succession of Tupou IV, however, the potential of such influence has diminished for all but a few noble families.

643 565 428 66 [581] [554]

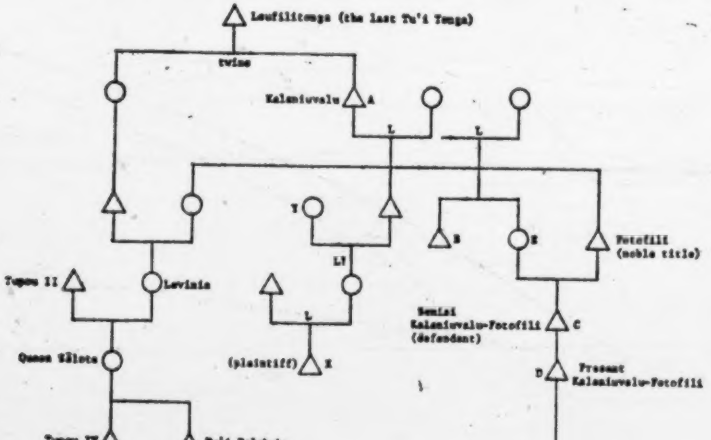
holding line lost a title in a succession dispute (as in the Vakalā case), the Queen continued informally to extend her favour to the losing line in preference to the winning line, as if the former continued to be the true chiefly line despite its loss. Alternatively, when a succession case outcome installed a line of lower *'eiki* status than the outgoing, former holding line, the Queen might have attempted to arrange or suggest marriages for the new line which would improve its chiefly status.

[581]

Thus, the apparent strategy of the monarch was informally to offset when possible the decisions of the legal process on title succession rather than to tamper with the cases themselves. It is important to realize that all but one of the cases involved gentry rather than aristocratically held titles, and as such, the cases did not seriously interfere with Royal planning or possible marriage strategies within the highest levels of the modern chiefly system. The one exception is that of Kalaniuvalu and it deserves some discussion because of the importance of this title line in the Royal Family's genealogy.

643 565 428 [173]

Figure 2 illustrates the major connections between the dynastic line and Kalaniuvalu. It will be recalled from an earlier section that Tupou I had selected



L = legitimate

Figure 2—Genealogical background of the Kalaniuvalu succession dispute.

643 565 428 [581] Kalaniuvalu as the representative of the Tu'i Tonga line among the modern nobility. Tupou II's marriage to Lavinia resulted in the assimilation of the Kalaniuvalu line as a channel of Tu'i Tonga descent into the Tupou dynastic line: not only was Lavinia's father's mother the twin sister of the original Kalaniuvalu but by design or circumstance, Lavinia's mother's brother's son, C, had become, not only Fotofili, a noble title, but also Kalaniuvalu (B, successor to A, had no legitimate heirs so that the Kalaniuvalu title descended through his sister, E). The kin of Queen Sālote on her mother's side (the Fotofili/Kalaniuvalu connections) were favoured during her reign, and the children of Fotofili have been crucial in aristocratic marriage arrangements since the reign of Tupou II. For example, the present Kalaniuvalu-Fotofili recently married the King's brother's eldest daughter, and their first male child is considered by many to be the highest ranking blood aristocrat in Tonga.

643 565 581 [661] [554]

565 428 Now, these arrangements might have been upset, at least regarding the holding of titles, had X (see Fig. 2) won his 1945 claim to the Kalaniuvalu title against C, the then holder. X, born long after B's appointment to the title, was nonetheless the descendant of a legitimate eldest male child of the original Kalaniuvalu. It is not clear why Kalaniuvalu's eldest legitimate male child did not succeed; perhaps he did not survive the original Kalaniuvalu himself. The most renowned Tongan lawyers, experienced in the litigation of title cases, defended C against X, the plaintiff, who was a minor, but whose mother's mother, Y, was the main impetus behind his claim. In a remarkable courtroom battle, the defence lawyers convinced the Land Court Judge that although married, Y had given birth to X's mother illegitimately, thus disqualifying X from any claim to the Kalaniuvalu title.

565 428 695 [848]

565 428 695 643 661 Although it was clear that the Queen favoured C and had a more personal vested interest in this case, there is no evidence that the monarch intervened, other than to suggest to Kalaniuvalu (C) or perhaps to arrange that the most skillful lawyers should collaborate in his defence. The case itself was resolved on the commonly contested issue of legitimacy. Thus, even in the one case of a disputed aristocratic title, the monarch declined to tamper with the legal process of adjudication.

565 643 428 [691] By the 1950's, the Crown Prince as Premier was increasingly in control of affairs of government (his father Tungī had died in 1942). He apparently was more sensitive than his mother to the capacity of the legal process to check the monarch's appointments of hereditary titles. His presence in Privy Council in the 1960 appeal decision concerning the second Vakalā case was at least partially responsible for the reversal of the fairly consistent previous trend of Privy Council confirmations of Land Court decisions. Since 1960, and his succession to the throne in 1965, there have been no major title disputes adjudicated. One can only speculate that the King is following a sophisticated

565 428 613 602 691 with mutual connections in the same patriline, but their connecting genealogical linkage is either matrilineal or so distant in the past that the sense of ongoing patrilineal linkage between them is weak (for example, the Manai'a and Kalaniuvalu cases); and (3) there are those cases which involve individuals who are of the same patriline, connected by close, relatively recent genealogical linkage, and who frequently interact, but are probably not mutually involved in a family estate, consisting of a set of kinsmen among whom resources are effectively shared (for example, the Kaila'ā case).

(1) As evidenced by the Vakalā cases, distinct faction formation accompanies succession litigation, undertaken with little need for independent 565 428 613 602 encouragement by attorneys. Although the lines of X and the original Vakalā descent group were reputedly linked in the pre-Constitutional era by an adoption tie, since the Constitution, the descendants of X and the line of A-D have considered themselves unrelated. Consequently, the stakes of competition for the title have been high, especially for the descendants of X, who were so clearly unfavoured by the monarch. The early victory of Y gave him, and to some extent his kin group, at least the entitled respects of formal noble status as well as the Vakalā estates. The unsuccessful claim by his son Z deprived the 565 428 613 602 554 [581] latter and his family group of these advantages. By the time of Z's litigation, the blood of the X line was generally considered very low. That is, successive title-holders (X and Y) had married women of no chiefly status and had in turn produced heirs of relatively little chiefly status (like Z). On the other hand, the successors in the original descent line had made relatively good chiefly marriages, and the mother of the present holder was an aristocrat. D himself had married down (twice) to women of no chiefly consequence. At the time of the 1957-1960 case, Z, urged on by his kin supporters, as the representative of a regional Vava'u line once rewarded for its warrior courage, but now without reputation, chiefly respectability, or kingly favour, challenged D, who had been raised among and mainly associated with his aristocratic mother's kinsmen, resident in and near 565 428 613 602 [691] the court and capital. The outcomes of litigation would either totally exclude the challenging line of X from chiefly status or alternatively would incorporate them within the sphere of formal noble status. The Vakalā cases demonstrate how important the chiefly status derived through females (i.e., D's maternal connections) can be in defining the scene for and ultimately influencing the litigation which is based on a law that does not formally recognize one's matrilineally determined chiefly status (see footnote 8).

Perhaps the most dramatic and bitter in occurrence, the Vakalā cases are a paradigm for disputes where kin relatedness is minimal. The Ivilahi case is similar in origin to that of Vakalā, but different in outcome: the present holder derives from a line not originally associated with the Ivilahi title in the pre- [691] Constitutional era. Although in the correct genealogical position to claim the title in 1937, the present holder did not appear to have the initiative or

[See Category 565, p. 227--Analyst.]

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

blooded Tongans" have some admixture of foreign blood (mostly European), and there is a danger that the number of these will continue to increase. 563

The smallness of the country and the land-laws do not attract Asiatics, and those who have entered the country in recent years are mostly Japanese storekeepers and Indian tailors, saddlers and house-servants. 563 167

BIRTH-RATE. The birth-rate for 1931 was particularly high, 40.9 per 1,000 of the population. The average for the past ten years is 36.95. This may be compared with the average in New Zealand 19.01, Australia 22.19, and Fiji (1927 only) 32.53 per 1,000. 163 000

The illegitimate births, averaged over the past ten years, were 17.32 per cent. of the total number of births. Illegitimacy in Victoria, for example, represents 4.80 per cent. 163 348 000

DEATH-RATE. Unfortunately, the death-rate is also high, 17.46 per 1,000 of the population in the period 1922-1931 but only 15.40 for the last year. This compares favourably with Fiji (1927 only) 22.98, Japan 21.2 and Italy 16.5 per 1,000, but it far exceeds the rate in some other countries, such as England and Wales 12.2, Australia 9.4 and New Zealand 8.5 per 1,000. 165 000

It is most regrettable that, though native treatment is forbidden by law, it is practised everywhere, even within easy access of Government Medical Officers. Of the 432 deaths registered in 1931, 205 were certified by medical officers, 228 had not been attended; nevertheless, this is better than in 1923, when 178 deaths were certified and 309 not attended. The medical officers are gradually winning the confidence of the people, and the return of qualified Native Medical Practitioners from the Central Medical School, Suva, in 1933 should increase the acceptability of European treatment among the Tongan people. 757 [656] [165] 759 757 178

Some causes of death in recent years were :—Tuberculosis 23.5% of the certified deaths, typhoid fever 11.1%, pneumonia 10.7%, influenza 1.3%. Malaria is unknown, yaws and filariasis are common but not usually fatal, and leprosy is not common; cases of leprosy are sent to Makogai, Fiji, where there are thirteen Tongan lepers at present. 165 164

Tuberculosis is undoubtedly the scourge of the group. The Medical Department does its utmost especially with incipient cases, but it is recognized that its efforts would be aided if the Tongans would seek treatment and carry it out. Deaths from tuberculosis in Tonga average annually 33 per 10,000 of the population*, as against 17.5 in France, 9.7 in England and Wales, and 5 per 10,000 in New Zealand. 164 165

* (This assumes that the proportion of tuberculosis as the cause of death in the cases of those uncertified was the same as for those certified.)

INFANT MORTALITY. The average number of deaths of infants under 12 months for the last ten-year period stands at the alarming figure of 119.09 per 1,000 births, but for the last five-year period the rate was only 67.7 and 67 in 1931. This may be compared with England and Wales 71, Australia 53, and New Zealand 38 per 1,000 births. 000

MARRIAGES. The marriage rate is 10.40 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 7.92 in Australia. The rate of divorces to marriages in the past ten years has been 1 in 9.05. 162 [581] [586]

/63 cont./

304 852 meaning to it. (175)

175. Many Tongans are of the opinion that circumcision is necessary for reasons of cleanliness (see also J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

A small festivity in connection with circumcision was still common 40 or 50 years ago. Relatives and friends were invited and a castrated pig, which was raised over a period of two or three years expressly for this purpose, was roasted. The old sources do not report anything about speical rites connected with circumcision, and there probably were none. However, the attitude toward circumcision seems to have [178] become more matter-or-fact. (176)

176. Shifting circumcision to hospitals and small stations--that is, away from the village community--no doubt partly contributed to this development.

304 177 178 Apart from that, and from the use of European instruments and new methods, and a lowering of the age for circumcision (177)

177. Circumcision is said to have taken place in ancient Tonga at the age of 14 (Geschichte der christlichen Missionen.../History of Christian missions/. loc. cit. o. 48); village community life and common schooling of youngsters are probably the reasons why they are now circumcised between the ages of six and twelve.

the ancient custom is still in full force.

2. THEIR SOCIAL ORDER

A. Family Life

a) Marriage, Family, Kinship

594 581 588 The Tongan family consists of husband, wife and children. As a rule, marriage is contracted properly according to law and Tongan custom (festivity). There are also "common-law" marriages (that is, couples live together without sanction of the law and the church), but there are regarded as exceptions. (178)

/66 cont./

585 The marriage was, of course, entered into only in accordance with
581 ancient Tongan custom (festivity). The legal marriage (registration) and the church wedding may have contributed to a certain stabilization
583 of marriage. "Flight marriages" (that is, lovers who are of age
585 marrying against the will of their parents by fleeing to another
178 island in the Archipelago and registering their marriage there) which
565 occasionally takes place today, probably did not occur in ancient Tonga in this form. For the commoners (190)

> 190. The great majority of commoners were farmers (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 300).

were bound to the soil far more than they are today. They cultivated
[428] the land of the chiefs which the latter /67/ lent them against duties,
[571] and they were so greatly dependent on their masters that they were permitted under no circumstances to change from one territorial
565 jurisdiction to another. Working his individual land naturally gave
585 the commoner more freedom. The far fewer economic burdens probably
178 had a beneficial effect on family life, for they usually gave it a
581 sounder basis.--From the preceding account and the figures given it
[591] becomes clear that the family has remained predominantly patrilocal
[611] and patrilinear. The way of life of commoners in pre-European times
[582] suggests that the marriage partners came from the same locality even more than is the case today.

565 A considerable change took place in the family life of nobles.
178 As a result of the Christianization of the Archipelago they gave up
595 polygamy, apparently with littly resistance, and today they lead a married life resembling that of commoners. Monogamy is thus
593 practiced by all the people, at least outwardly. While wives are
837 mostly faithful to their husbands, many husbands take the liberty of
[178] having affairs with other girls or women. This is apparently an

/67 cont./

ancient Tongan custom, for Mariner already reports "that no man is understood to be bound to conjugal fidelity," /cited in English/ (191)

191. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 175.

but he adds that most men remain reasonably faithful to their wives and that excesses in extramarital relations on the part of the men are not looked upon with favor. Today in Tonga there is something resembling "successive polygamy" in which the marriage partners dissolve the marriage and enter into one marriage after another. Thus, in April 1952, among the 82 marriages formally adhered to in 'Uiha, there were 12 in which the partners had separated without a regular divorce. In eight cases the husband, in four cases the wife "departed" (acting on their own initiative, usually to relatives in another island of the Archipelago), with no thought of even returning, and soon entered another marriage. This free attitude toward married life is reminiscent of ancient Tongan times when, according to Mariner's calculation, some two-thirds of all women were married, of these half stayed with their husbands, while the rest were married and quickly divorced again, only to be remarried three, four or five times during their lives. (192)

192 J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 167/168.

Since freedom to dissolve the marriage in ancient Tonga was almost entirely the husband's privilege, we must note here a certain change in favor of the wife.

However, Tongan marriage seems more stable today than it was in old times, (193)

193. Also compare the figures given above with reference to unmarried individuals in 'Uiha and Fungamisi.

especially since, through the Christianization of Tonga, /68/ it was reinforced to a certain extent by religion, and lawful divorce is no

/68 cont./

581 longer as easy as it formerly was. (194)
178
586
177

194. According to Mariner, a divorce by the husband occurred "with no other ceremony than just telling her that she may go..." /cited in English/ (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 173.)

587 Nevertheless, many a nonchalant Tongan thinks nothing of leaving his
586 spouse and establishing himself in another household in the village, in order to enter another marriage without being in a hurry about legal divorce with its attendant costs.

585 The number of married persons is larger today than it was in
162 pre-European times, if the statements of the generally quite reliable
178 Mariner are correct. (195)

195. Mariner says one-third of the women are unmarried (J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168.)

592 There is no reason to doubt that in the past the household of the
565 majority of commoners working as farmers consisted of approximately
178 the same number of persons as today. (196)

(589)
(463)

196. The unmarried women lived mainly as servants on the properties of the chiefs (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 168), just as male commoners were used as cooks and humble workmen (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 92.

(597) Certain numerical differences could only have come about through the adoption of children, in case this was as common as Gifford assumes. (197)

197. E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society /cited in English/. p. 26; compare with this the numbers given above of today's adopted children.

592 The rather impressive household of nobles resulting from polygamy and
565 numerous servants has, however, with few exceptions, been reduced to the general standard (of commoners).

/70 cont./

887 work along with them to the extent that they are able or disposed, to and try to make themselves useful, the way they have apparently always done. At the same time they enjoy the respect of the younger ones. (202)

202. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 97.

177 Thus one may say that the old family structure of the broad
178 masses of the Tongan populace (including the commoners) has endured with scarcely any change. Monogamy of commoners and the structure
[797] of their households were quite in keeping with the ideas of the
[595] missionaries who were the most important representatives of
[592] European influences during the decisive decades. Ancient Tongan
[585] marriage was strengthened by Christian doctrine, as well as by the
[423] church wedding, (203)
[642]

203. Including registration with public authorities. and by individual land ownership (lifelong tenancy) resulting from the new Constitution of 1875. The epoch that began with Christianization,
177 on the other hand, brought certain, to some extent decisive, /71/
797 innovations in family living. The frequent church attendance, family prayers, and the absolute hallowing of Sunday, as well as children's daily school attendance introduced by the missionaries, created, at least temporarily, a new family organization. Yet even
[581] the most zealous puritanical missionaries have to this day not succeeded in entirely suppressing the freer Tongan attitudes toward marriage. (204)

[837]

204. Typical seems the case of the married Tongan F. who is an intimate friend of various girls and women of his village, and assured the author that for a long time after each nocturnal visit with his girl friends he was very careful to observe "whether anything happened from above"; yet he had to say that he never experienced a punishment from heaven for his behavior.

/74 cont./

848 to begin with are regarded with suspicion in such cases. Most
582 young Tongan men seem to marry another girl than the one with whom
836 they have had pre-marital intercourse.

836 Apart from the aforementioned limited decrease of pre-marital
177 intercourse as a result of European influence (mission work), the
178 present situation as described corresponds more or less to ancient Tongan times. For Mariner already tells us of the freedom of unmarried girls (212)

212. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.

and of certain difficulties in winning a girl (unmarried woman). (213)

213. The same, loc. cit. II. p. 174.

178 Then, as today, unmarried men seldom try married women (214)
836
837 214. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 176.
548 and promiscuity and prostitution are scarcely noticeable on the small islands. (215)

215. Compare J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 174/175.

177 However, the often inglorious behavior of foreign troops on Tongatapu
548 during the Second World /75/ War has led to the fact that in Nuku'alofa,
562 for example, various Tonga women offer themselves for money, and in the seaports a certain roughness of young Tongan men in their conduct toward females may probably be traced back to the influence of war.

Nuptials

681 Tongans usually marry out of personal affection and practical
584 affection and practical considerations. Often the parents of the man or girl try to dispose them toward a "better" match, and the couple will sometimes ignore the parents' will ("flight marriage," see p. 96). Childhood betrothals arranged by the parents (216)

216. These are mentioned by Mariner for roughly one-third of the married women (to men of higher rank than commoners) (compare J. Martin, loc. cit. p. 167).

/75 cont./

584 apparently occur more seldom today. Kinship marriages (cousins) are
582 very rare, since the brother-sister taboo extends to this degree of relationship and is still very much in effect. However, as in former times, people like to marry on the same island and in the same district--though avoiding all kinfolk.

832 The Tongan ideal of feminine beauty has changed. The obese type
177 with very fat legs is no longer favored, but rather the well-rounded, somewhat sturdy girl is preferred. This change of taste undoubtedly came about through acquaintance with the European ideal by way of films and photographs in magazines and newspapers. Yet the beautiful white girl type is still too thin for most Tongans.

581 A young man who likes a girl because of her beauty and/or her domestic efficiency and her character well enough to marry her may not at once become friends with her publicly. An unmarried Tongan man is
584 generally not permitted (217)
571

217. That is to say, on the small islands; in the seaports this custom is being relaxed.

to go for a walk with a girl in the village. The girl's reputation
[558] would be ruined if, for example, she were seen sitting alone with
[177] a young man on the beach by moonlight. Such "English customs"
are still disapproved by most Tongans. European manifestations
832 of tenderness--such as a kiss on the lips--have not found general
177 acceptance. (218)

218. The nose kiss (<u>'uma</u>) is, however, still very common; this touching of nose to nose (while holding one's breath) is done chiefly when relatives greet each other after a rather long separation.

574 The best opportunity to become acquainted with a girl, to be
584 together with her, is still the social event of a kava gathering.
276 (219)

000 /305 cont./

especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.

Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion, and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adprnment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother" survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show